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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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U.S. Congress Senate Committee on the Judiciary

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 8, 1956

PART 1

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 11 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Herman Welker presiding.

Present: Senators Welker, McClellan, Jenner, and Butler.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, research director.

Senator WELKER. May I have the attention of any members of the press who are in the photographic section. Will you gentlemen please do the committee a favor and not take any pictures of the witness Rastvorov, either here in the committee room or any place on the Capitol Hill. I wish you would help us out in this matter, because the witness has asked the committee that the photographers cooperate with us on that, and I am sure you will be happy to do so.

Thank you very much, gentlemen. You have always been very fine.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you stand please?

Senator WELKER. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give before the subcommittee of the Judiciary, the Internal Security Subcommittee, will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God.

Mr. RASTVOROV. I swear.

Senator WELKER. Will you give your name.

TESTIMONY OF YURI RASTVOROV

Mr. RASTVOROV. My name is Yuri Rastvorov.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. RASTVOROV. R-a-s-t-v-o-r-o-v.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your first name? Will you spell your first name?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Y-u-r-i.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the witness has given his address to the committee, and we do have his name. I see no need of the address appearing in the public record at this time.

Senator WELKER. Very well, it will be ordered that the address do not appear in the public record at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, did you hold a rank in the Soviet Secret Police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. What rank did you hold?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I was lieutenant colonel.

Mr. MORRIS. Until what year?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I was promoted in 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. And you held that rank until when?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Until my coming to this country.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you defected from the Soviet organization in what year?

Mr. RASTVOROV. In January 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you at that time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I was in Tokyo.

Mr. MORRIS. You were in Tokyo. And were you working for the Soviet Secret Police at that time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you describe for the committee the nature of your assignment at the time of your defection in 1954?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I was intelligence officer of MVD and I worked in Tokyo under the cover of second secretary of Soviet mission, the project doing intelligence work there.

Senator WELKER. Will you describe for the committee what MVD is, please, Mr. Witness.

Mr. RASTVOROV. MVD; intelligence service is the main task. Intelligence service of MVD is gathering political information about other countries.

Senator WELKER. Gathering it for whom?

Mr. RASTVOROV. For Soviet Union.

Senator WELKER. Very well; proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long, Mr. Rastvorov, were you in the Soviet Secret Police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I was hired in 1943 and worked constantly up until 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, this witness is being presented to the committee as a competent witness to testify in connection with the series of hearings that Senator Eastland announced will commence today. I wonder if you, Senator, will read Senator Eastland's opening statement on these hearings.

Senator WELKER. Very well. [Reading:]

The Internal Security Subcommittee is beginning a series of hearings on the scope of the Soviet activity in the United States. We shall try to determine to what extent Soviet power operates through the Communist Party here and to what extent other organizations have been devised to effectuate its purposes. We shall study the structural revisions that the Communists have made in their network, in order to avoid detection, and endeavor to trace the movement of individual agents through these changing structures.

Under consideration during these hearings will be the activities of Soviet agents and agencies registered with the Department of Justice and such other agents or agencies not now registered whose activities may warrant legislative action. We shall endeavor to determine to what extent the Soviet activity here is calculated to contribute to Soviet expansion abroad and to what extent it is working to undermine the structure and composition of our own Government here.

As the facts bearing on these issues are gathered in the public record of this subcommittee, we shall be able to make recommendations or determinations as to whether the Internal Security Act of 1950 and other existing laws should be repealed, amended or revised or new laws enacted. This is the first hearing in this series.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RASTVOROV. May I smoke, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; you make yourself comfortable.

Mr. Rastvorov, will you tell us the nature of the Soviet Intelligence System as it operates from Moscow?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I make a drawing, if you like.

Mr. MORRIS. Very good, you may do that.

Senator WELKER. Let the record show that the witness is now proceeding to the blackboard to make a drawing.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Practically speaking, the Soviet Intelligence Service consists of two parts. The first part is Political Intelligence Service, or they call it Intelligence Service of MVD.

I use the word "MVD" because it is a complication for everybody because of many changes. They call it MVD, MGB, now they call it KGB. That is why it is very complicated.

I am going to use only MVD.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that the old MKVD and the GPU?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. MVD consists of two branches. One branch is counterintelligence service.

Mr. MORRIS. You say counterintelligence service?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; counterintelligence service, and another is the intelligence service. I worked in this intelligence service. This is part of Soviet intelligence service. Another is GRU, which we can say is military intelligence service.

Senator WELKER. Military intelligence service?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; military intelligence service.

Senator WELKER. May the chairman inquire, Is the intelligence service divided into two branches?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. One political and the other military?

Mr. RASTVOROV. The other military.

Senator WELKER. The political one is the one you have designated on the blackboard as being MVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. The military one is the one you have designated on the blackboard as being GRU?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; and GRU consists of two subsections. First it is a military intelligence, I mean, field intelligence service.

Senator WELKER. Field intelligence service?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; and another is the Navy intelligence service. Sometimes they work independently, but now they are merged again and represent only one service, military intelligence service.

Well, then the Central Committee of Communist Party, practically speaking, they have also their own intelligence service, and it is independent—

Senator WELKER. Just a minute, let's go slowly over that again. Will you repeat that slowly?

Mr. RASTVOROV. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has its own intelligence service.

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, we can say before they call it Comintern. As you know, during the Second War, this organization was dissolved and after that they started to call it just the Central Committee of

Communist Party, and used the name Central Committee of Communist Party, which maintains contact with local Communist parties, the Communist parties in other countries, for intelligence purposes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was that changed when the Comintern was dissolved? Was that a substantial change, or was that a change in form only?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, just to give an idea to the world that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union didn't interfere any more in the method of foreign countries.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there a substantial change or just the name?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Just the name.

Mr. MORRIS. Did it carry on in every way as usual?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; it was carried before and carried now.

Mr. MORRIS. The same way, no change?

Mr. RASTVOROV. The same way; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us how the MVD operated in Japan, on your last assignment there?

Senator WELKER. The witness is now taking his chair.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, MVD Intelligence Service maintains their sections in all countries with which they maintain so-called diplomatic relationship, and in each country they have special intelligence groups, MVD intelligence groups. The people of this group operate in the countries under the diplomatic covers, in other words, second secretary, first secretary, third secretary, and so on.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what cover did you use?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I used the cover of second secretary of Soviet mission in Tokyo.

Mr. MORRIS. And as such you were a member of MVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say that you know from your experience of 11 years with the MVD that in every country where the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations, such as with the United States, that there is in existence an MVD operator?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, that is correct.

Senator WELKER. Just a moment, Counsel. How do you know that, Mr. Witness? How do you know that? Were you told that? Were you instructed? Do I make my question clear?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I have a right to judge because I work in the Service 11 years and I know many things. That is why I have judged to tell you true about this.

Senator WELKER. I realize that, Mr. Witness, but I want to get the background for the record, that as an agent, an intelligence agent working under the second secretary in Tokyo, you knew that the Soviet Union had its intelligence service in the MVD in every country with which it had diplomatic relations, is that correct?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, this is correct.

Senator WELKER. Was that common knowledge to you as an agent as well as to other agents of the Soviet conspiracy?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, this is very common knowledge to me.

Senator BUTLER. In how many embassies did you serve under cover as an MVD agent?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I served only in Tokyo twice from 1946 to 1947, and from 1950 to 1954, only in one country, and I have never been in other countries.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, you actually knew the individuals who assumed these particular positions in various countries, did you not, and worked with them?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, that is true.

Mr. MORRIS. For instance, could you tell us, do you know of your own knowledge that the MVD maintains an intelligence organization in the United States?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, I knew many people who work here under cover, all kinds of official covers, in this particular country.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder, Mr. Rastvorov, if you could sketch for the committee the names of the chief resident agents of the MVD say, from 1940 to the most recent date that you can testify to.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, can I write down on the blackboard again?

Mr. MORRIS. By all means. Will you start from the most recent one that you knew and work backward, Mr. Rastvorov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Start with the last one you knew of and work backward.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I am not going exactly by years and months, but I give you approximate ideas about these people. First name Ovakimyan, who operated in this country as a boss up until 1941. He was arrested here, probably in 1940, because he was involved in some case, but the United States authorities permitted him to leave this country. He operated in this country up until 1941.

After he returned to Moscow, he became Deputy Chief of Intelligence Service of MVD. His rank is major general, and he worked up until 1946, and in 1946 he was fired because of disagreement with Minister of MGB, who was at that time General Abakumov. Recently he was shot.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that for us, please?

Mr. RASTVOROV. A-b-a-k-u-m-o-v.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who was the one that was shot, Mr. Rastvorov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Abakumov was shot a year ago as associate of Beria, but he wasn't at all. But they decided it better to justify their actions, and told people all over the world he was associate of Beria, but it wasn't true. He was his enemy in many ways.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, will you hold it just one minute, please? Mr. Chairman, as these names are being identified, there are here, in the event that you may want them, evidences of activity on the part of these particular people, some of which has come up in our record and some of it just is in the files as staff information.

I was just wondering to what extent you would like to have that in our record now. In other words, the activity of Ovakimyan as it crossed our paths in previous investigations.

Senator WELKER. May the chairman confer with Senator McClellan and Senator Butler. Do you think it advisable that we have our research director put into the record what activities, if any, the named participant had with the Soviet Intelligence at that time?

Senator McCLELLAN. I just came in, Mr. Chairman. I hardly know what has preceded.

Senator WELKER. Well, we had just started, John.

Senator McCLELLAN. I would leave it entirely to the Chair's discretion at this point.

Senator WELKER. Thank you very much. Then I will order that, as a name appears in the testimony of this witness, if it is wise in the determination of our counsel, Mr. Morris, our research director may read into the record at that point, any evidence or any activity on behalf of the named witness or the named participant which might have bearing on this hearing.

Mr. MORRIS. In the case of Ovakimyan, Senator, I would like to put it in later on, depending on certain things being checked for security purposes.

Senator WELKER. Very well. We will withhold it, then.

Mr. MORRIS. When did Mr. Zarubin take over as chief resident agent?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, he came to this country, I think, in 1943, and his name was here Zubilin.

Senator WELKER. May I pose this little corrective measure. The second name that you placed on the blackboard is?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Zarubin, but he was known here as Zubilin. He was third secretary in this country, under cover of third secretary, but practically he was boss of MVD intelligence service.

Mr. MORRIS. Is he the man who is now the Ambassador to East Germany?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No, it is another, common name, there are so many Zarubins in that country, but it is another man.

Mr. MORRIS. That is East Germany, now?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No, no, it is another man.

Senator WELKER. Do you know where Mr. Zarubin is now?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, he came from United States, I think, in 1944, and he became boss of German Section. His rank is major general, and he was fired from the service in 1947 because of alcoholism, and now he is retired, drinking peacefully.

Senator WELKER. Has he retired or did he get shot?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was fired, because of his bad behavior. He is alcoholic type.

Senator WELKER. He is an alcoholic?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. So therefore, he is retired.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Both of these men that you have named, No. 1 and No. 2, it is your testimony that they worked here in the United States in the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Very well, sir.

Mr. RASTVOROV. I don't know about first man. He didn't belong to the Embassy staff, but he worked here in some trade organization.

Senator WELKER. I see. Very well.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Probably Amtorg, or some trade organization, I don't know exactly.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I, as an example, put into the record at this time excerpts from the security report that we have used previously in hearings of the Internal Security Committee, which indicates somewhat the nature of the activities of Mr. Zarubin or Zubilin with American Communists here in the United States?

Senator WELKER. Very well, proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. On page 31 of the security report that was previously in the record and has been identified previously, the report reads:

At the time of this meeting, Zubilin was working the Comintern apparatus. Nelson—

That is Steve Nelson, is it not Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing):

Nelson advised Zubilin that his work on behalf of the apparatus had been predicated upon a note from Moscow, which had been brought to him by a courier from New York, and that Earl Browder was fully cognizant of the fact that he, Nelson, was engaged in secret work for the Soviets.

Nelson discussed thoroughly with Zubilin the various personalities engaged in work for the Comintern apparatus on the west coast, using for the most part cover names in referring to them. The principal activities which were not being conducted to Nelson's satisfaction were contacts with Japanese Communists in the relocation centers and the handling of literature and other documentary material which was being transmitted to points in the South Pacific by Communist seamen couriers.

And then there goes on, Senator, three more paragraphs much of the same thing which shows Zubilin did operate with American Communists at the time.

Senator WELKER. Without objection, this will be placed in the record at the appropriate point.

(The information above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 1" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT NO. 1

At the time of this meeting, Zubilin was working the Comintern apparatus. Nelson advised Zubilin that his work on behalf of the apparatus had been predicated upon a note from Moscow which had been brought to him by a courier from New York and that Earl Browder was fully cognizant of the fact that he, Nelson, was engaged in secret work for the Soviets.

Nelson discussed thoroughly with Zubilin the various personalities engaged in work for the Comintern apparatus on the west coast, using for the most part cover names in referring to them. The principal activities which were not being conducted to Nelson's satisfaction were contacts with Japanese Communists in the relocation centers and the handling of literature and other documentary material which was being transmitted to points in the South Pacific by Communist seamen couriers.

Nelson also discussed thoroughly with Zubilin what were vaguely described by him as "Russian activities," to distinguish them from the political and propaganda work of the Comintern. In connection with these "Russian activities" he pointed out that a number of the officials of the Communist Party were alarmed by the fact that Soviet representatives would approach party members in California and give them specific assignments, presumably of an espionage nature, and would instruct them to say nothing to their superiors in the party regarding the assignments given them by the Soviets. Nelson suggested to Zubilin that in each important city or State, the Soviets have but one contact who was trustworthy, and to let that man handle the contact with party members who were to be given special assignments by the Soviets.

At the time of this meeting, Nelson complained to Zubilin about the inefficiency of two persons working for the apparatus. (These persons who later were identified through investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as Getzel Hochberg and Mordecai Rappaport, were relieved of their duties for the Apparatus and actually transferred to other cities from those in which they had been working—Hochberg from New York to Detroit, and Rappaport from the San Francisco Bay area to Los Angeles, Calif.)

Vassili Mikhailovich Zubilin, with aliases, V. Zarubin, Vassili Luchenko, and "Cooper," was born January 22, 1900, in Moscow, according to the protocol form filed with the State Department by the Soviet Embassy. In January 1942, he was appointed Third Secretary of the Embassy of the U. S. S. R. in Washington, D. C. He was subsequently raised in grade to Second Secretary. He was

finally recalled to the Soviet Union and departed August 27, 1944. While in the United States, he was accompanied by his wife, Elizabeth Yurevna Zubilin, and his 12-year-old son.

It will be recalled that Vassih Zubilin, Second Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C., and the reported head of NKVD activity in the United States, was working with the Comintern apparatus in connection with his intelligence program.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do you have anything else of particular appropriateness at this time that you would like to read into the record?

Mr. MANDEL. The last paragraph of that memorandum, I think, relates to the United States, and might be added, Mr. Morris:

Vassili Mikhailovich Zubilin, with aliases, V. Zarubin, Vassili Luchenko, and "Cooper," was born January 22, 1900, in Moscow, according to the protocol form filed with the State Department by the Soviet Embassy. In January 1942, he was appointed Third Secretary of the Embassy of the U. S. S. R. in Washington, D. C. He was subsequently raised in grade to Second Secretary. He was finally recalled to the Soviet Union and departed August 27, 1944.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you continue with your identification?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I want to add that the wife of Zarubin, Elizabeth Zarubin now, I didn't mention this, she came to this country with Mr. Zarubin and worked as intelligence officer in this country.

Later, when he returned back, she worked in a German section of MVD Intelligence Service as a desk officer. He is very experienced in intelligence service, in intelligence operations against Germany during the war. Well, Zarubin was replaced by Gregory Dolbin.

Mr. MORRIS. That is D-o-l-b-i-n?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. And I think he was here from 1944 or 1945 up until 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you know that he was the chief resident agent here in the United States?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, and Dolbin served as a boss of intelligence group in Tokyo during the Second War, I think, from 1940 to 1944.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know him personally?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I know him personally, because he was my boss in Moscow headquarters. He was boss of Japanese subsection, and I worked under him.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you know that he came to the United States to be the chief resident agent?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; I know. He told me, himself, about this.

Senator BUTLER. And what were the years that he was here?

Mr. RASTVOROV. It's approximately, probably I made a mistake, but approximately from 1944 or 1945 to 1947.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Chairman, I have something I would like to read into the record at this point.

Senator WELKER. The Senator from Maryland, Senator Butler.

Senator BUTLER. Referring to the Institute of Pacific Relations hearings, part 10, page 3646. Senator Willis Smith was at that time questioning Mr. Lattimore. He asked him this question:

Senator SMITH. Mr. Lattimore, have you had any Russian visit you in your home?

Mr. LATTIMORE. I think one. You mean one not an American of Russian origin?

Senator SMITH. I mean a person from Russia.

Mr. LATTIMORE. Yes; I think one.

Senator SMITH. Who was that?

Mr. LATTIMORE. He was a man named Dolbin, D-o-l-b-i-n, who had been assigned by the Russians to accompany Mr. Wallace in Siberia, and then he was attached for a while here; I am not sure whether it was the Russian Embassy or the Russian United Nations delegation. And I invited him over to my house.

Senator SMITH. How long did he visit you?

Mr. LATTIMORE. I think he drove over for lunch and drove back the same day.

Senator SMITH. Now, when was that? About when? * * *

Mr. LATTIMORE. Probably 1945.

Now, you have reason to believe that Mr. Dolbin was here?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; this is the same man.

Senator BUTLER. In 1945?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator BUTLER. He was the chief resident agent of the Soviet Secret Police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator BUTLER. And you believe this Mr. Dolbin to be the same man that Mr. Lattimore refers to?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, you knew from your own discussions with Mr. Dolbin that he accompanied the Wallace mission to Siberia in 1944, do you not?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. He was the same man, and as you know, in the United States was organized so-called Progressive Party, and the Soviet Government was very interested to maintain, to help this party and to develop this party as a political power against other parties of the United States, and they did their best to woo Mr. Wallace, and that is why, when Mr. Wallace made a trip in that country, I have forgotten exactly the year——

Mr. MORRIS. 1944.

Mr. RASTVOROV. I think it's 1944; Mr. Dolbin was assigned as an official who accompanied him. He started trip from the Far East, from Kolomar area, and Dolbin explained to me that the policy——

Mr. MORRIS. When was this? When did he tell you this?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He told me in 1945 when he was in Moscow, and he told me that the Government officials instructed him to be very careful and to show Mr. Wallace what Government wanted to show him.

For instance, in Kolomar area for these purposes, concentration camps were removed from the route along which he traveled, and Mr. Dolbin guarded him very closely and didn't permit him to look at the things which was undesirable for government, in other words, for concentration camps and so on, and so on.

And Mr. Wallace, I must say he was deceived when he told that he wasn't seeing any particular PW camps in that area.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, after Mr. Dolbin, who succeeded him as the Chief Resident Agent of the Secret Police at that time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. It was another man, a man by the name of Sokolov who was, in Tokyo, Chief Resident of Intelligence Service of MVD, I think, in approximately 1944.

Mr. Sokolov came to this country in 1947-48 and he stayed here up until 1949. He was recalled to Moscow and was reprimanded because of his failure to achieve intelligence aims in this country.

Mr. MORRIS. And who succeeded Mr. Sokolov? By the way, did Mr. Sokolov have a cover here?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; he was some official cover in Embassy in Washington. I don't know exactly, probably first, second, or third secretary, I don't know exactly. By the way, Dolbin, after he came home, got sick, and now he is in insane hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. Insane hospital?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. Mr. Sokolov was replaced by Ambassador in United States Panyushkin.

Mr. MORRIS. This man was an Ambassador; wasn't he?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Which is extraordinary information, for the Ambassador to be Chief Resident Agent.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know the present Soviet Ambassador to the United States?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, I know he is Mr. Zarubin. He doesn't belong to Intelligence Service.

Mr. MORRIS. He, unlike Panyushkin, was not an intelligence man, to your knowledge?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No, no, Panyushkin was intelligence man. He holds rank of major general of MVD Service.

Senator WELKER. You stated that Zarubin was not a member of—

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, but I am going to add couple of words about how Ambassador, Soviet Ambassadors in foreign countries operate.

Senator WELKER. How they operate and how they are picked, can you help us on that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. Practically speaking, not all of them belong to Intelligence Service, but being the boss of diplomatic mission, he has right to interfere in operation of Intelligence Service, and the chiefs of Intelligence Service, Military Intelligence Service and Political Intelligence Service, in other words, MVD and GRU, they brief Ambassadors constantly about political information and information which they get from their sources, from their agents in this country.

That is why ambassadors, Soviet ambassadors abroad, including Mr. Zarubin, are aware of intelligence operations in the country.

Mr. MORRIS. They may be aware of it, but in the case of Mr. Zarubin, the present Ambassador, he may not be actually an officer in the system.

Mr. RASTVOROV. He is not, but he knows about this business very well, because he built his policy according to knowledge, according to information which he got from Intelligence Services, Military and MVD.

Mr. MORRIS. When did Mr. Panyushkin leave the United States in that capacity?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I think he left approximately 1950.

Mr. MORRIS. And who succeeded him?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Mr. Wladkin succeeded him as Chief of Intelligence Service in Washington, D. C., and the previous years during the Second War, he was in China as a diplomatic official, under cover of diplomatic official, but practically was engaged in intelligence operation.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long did he remain as the Chief Resident Agent of the Secret Police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I don't know whether he left or not, but he stayed here recently.

Mr. MORRIS. What, 1955?

Mr. RASTVOROV. 1954, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. 1954-1955?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know of your own knowledge who the present Chief Resident Agent of the MVD is?

Mr. RASTVOROV. At the present time I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, is there any other person in the United States, in the territorial area of the United States, that serves as a Chief Resident Agent of a section of the MVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, they have two sections in the United States. First of all, its Washington, D. C., Soviet Embassy, which is used for intelligence operation, and second its United Nations Organization where they have MVD intelligence group.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, the MVD, as far as the geographical limits of the United States is concerned, is broken down into two separate sections.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, exactly.

Mr. MORRIS. One section is directed by the Chief Resident Agent in Washington, which covers the United States proper, and the other is directed by the Chief Resident Agent in New York, whose jurisdiction is United Nations and United Nations affairs?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Counsel, may I inquire. You have told us this: That in the United States and its territories which you are familiar with, the Soviet intelligence has two bases of operations, one is the Soviet Embassy here in Washington, D. C.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. And the other is United Nations in New York City.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Under what part of United Nations does this intelligence agency operate in New York, in the United Nations? What section is that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Soviet section.

Senator WELKER. Soviet section?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Can you describe to the committee how they operate there?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, they operate in the same way they operate here. They are doing intelligence job and practically no difference. They do the same job.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know of your own experience the identity of some of the MVD officers who have been assigned to this particular subsection?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I can mention one name. One man by name Sumskoi.

Mr. MORRIS. Spell that, please. That is S-u-m-s-k-o-i?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Now, what does he do? Where does he operate?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He considered himself as official of Soviet Section, United Nations Organization; but, practically, he is one of the leaders of intelligence service there.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know him personally in your experience with the MVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; I know him personally.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you worked with him in intelligence work?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; we have worked in the same headquarters.

Senator WELKER. Where?

Mr. RASTVOROV. In Moscow.

Senator WELKER. You worked in the same headquarters with Sumskoi in Moscow?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. In other words, in intelligence headquarters of MVD in Moscow.

Senator WELKER. Do you know when he came to the United Nations?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He came in the late forties.

Senator WELKER. In the late forties?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have the names of any other MVD people in the United Nations?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Unfortunately, I have forgotten the last name of man who came to this country year ago, and who, according to his experience, probably the Chief of Intelligence group in United Nations Organization.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, will you suspend any further testimony on that particular individual until you can refresh your recollection on that subject?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, this man was in China about 7 or 6 years during the Second War. Then he came to Moscow in 1947 or 1948, came to China again, and he was sent to United Nations in 1945. This man worked for a long period of time with Mr. Panyushkin and is his personal friend.

Mr. MORRIS. He came to the United States in what year?

Mr. RASTVOROV. In 1955. He stays now here.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, this witness will be recalled at a later date, and I think possibly we can go into this particular subject.

Senator WELKER. I take it you don't want to go into this matter.

Mr. MORRIS. He doesn't remember his last name. Do you know the individual?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have spoken with him in the past?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. I study intelligence in intelligence school in 1944 in Moscow.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, he may be able to give us the man's last name.

Senator WELKER. I understand. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, for instance, know Mr. Gubichev?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; I know him. I saw him when he came from this country after unsuccessful operation against Coplon, as everybody knows.

Mr. MORRIS. You say against Coplon?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; the girl.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean she worked against Gubichev?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; she was recruited by him, and because of unsuccessful operation, he was recalled and later fired from the service.

Mr. MORRIS. Because?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Because of his unsuccessful operation.

Mr. MORRIS. Because the Coplon girl had been arrested?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; and he was arrested, himself. This is practically one of the reasons why he was fired, because they couldn't trust him any more.

They have a very definite policy about this, that people who have once been arrested by counterintelligence service of local governments, they never trust them any more.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could tell us, Mr. Rastvorov, precisely how—this is drawing on your own experience, now, of 11 years—how the MVD operates in a particular country, stressing in particular its connection with the local Communist Party.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I don't know exactly how the MVD—no, that is not exactly what I mean. I give you good example of how they operate with local Communist Party, if I present to you my experience in Tokyo.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; that is what we want you to do, draw on your own experience.

Mr. RASTVOROV. In Tokyo—the Communist Parties practically all over the world consist of two groups. One group is legal party, in other words, which operates openly, and another group illegal group who under cover, who pretend to be local citizenship, good citizens, in other words.

Senator McCLELLAN. What we call a front organization?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; you don't know about them anything.

Senator McCLELLAN. You don't know they are Communists?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No, no.

Senator McCLELLAN. Do they use some group title?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No, they don't associate with so-called front organization at all. They are just average citizen engaged in party activities illegally, in other words. Nobody knows about it.

Senator WELKER. In other words, underground activity.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Underground.

Mr. MORRIS. Are some of these people important persons in Japan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Some of the people that you knew and worked with in this connection, are they important persons in Japan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Oh, yes; I am going to tell it now.

Central Committee of Communist Party maintains their relationship with this illegal part of Communist Party abroad, which are under cover, and MVD intelligence group abroad maintain direct contact with this underground part of Communist parties. For instance, in Tokyo the chief of intelligence group, by name Kotelnikov. All these people mentioned here, they maintain contact with illegal part of Communist Party in Japan; chief resident of intelligence service in Tokyo, Colonel Kotelnikov.

Temporarily the man by name Shibaev, colonel, who came to Japan in 1951. Then, chief resident of intelligence group in Tokyo, Kasparov, who was in United States in the beginning of the forties, and last, chief resident of intelligence service in Tokyo, man by name Nosenko. They maintain contact with illegal part of Communist Party in Japan.

In other words, each Communist Party all over the world have so-called intelligence section which consists of people, of very devoted people, and this intelligence service have liaison man who maintain

contact with MVD intelligence people who get instruction from foreign Directorate of Central Committee of Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Do they maintain connections with both the secret and the legal Communist parties?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No, only the illegal.

Mr. MORRIS. Only the illegal?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, only the most devoted people, the most trusted people, and through this channel they send money, they send instruction and everything.

Mr. MORRIS. Are these people in the illegal Communist Party, do they acknowledge publicly that they are Communists?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; nobody knows about them.

Mr. MORRIS. If they are asked, do they deny Communist Party membership?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that they do?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And who are these people, generally, without naming them, because this is not our jurisdiction, but will you tell us in general what positions they hold in the Japanese Government?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I did not mention Japanese Government. It is not exactly, they don't belong to Government. Probably they are just local citizens, probably businessmen and so on. They are all kinds of people, but they are members of Communist Party.

Senator WELKER. Counsel means the residents of Japan, those who live in Japan. They may not be connected with the Government.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, exactly. Some of them belong to the Government.

Mr. MORRIS. I didn't expressly mean were they actually working for the Government, but what are their relations with the Japanese Government and the Japanese Diet and the Japanese community?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I just can't answer this question, because I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, you worked with them, didn't you?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I don't follow your question. Repeat again. I just don't follow it.

Mr. MORRIS. These members of the illegal party, of the underground party, did you have occasion to work with them?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I didn't work with them. These people mentioned here worked with them, but not me.

Mr. MORRIS. And whom did you work with?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I worked with agents, but it is a different story. They didn't belong to Communist Party. Some of them were officials of government, some of them were businessmen, some of them were newspapermen and so on, all kinds of people.

Mr. MORRIS. People that you worked with?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, but I didn't work with the people from this illegal part of Communist Party of Japan. In other words, only these people were responsible for this.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. What I was trying to get, Mr. Rastvorov, was what the type of person was that you worked with.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I had several agents, and some of them worked in the Government in the Foreign Office of Japanese Gov-

ernment, some of them worked in G-2 of American Armed Forces in Japan, some of them were correspondents.

Senator WELKER. You mean some of them worked for intelligence service?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. The United States Army in Japan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the point I was trying to make, Senator. Will you give us, by some actual examples, how the MVD works, particularly with respect to connections with the Communist Party, local Communist parties?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, why, they maintain clandestine contact in such way through the MVD people, in other words, through intelligence service, and in order to be sure that local counterintelligence service in Government cannot know about this relationship with Communist Party, in other words, the first task to show to the world they don't interfere in internal matter of these countries, and the best way to do it is maintain contact through intelligence service, because people by experience know how to maintain secret contact with Communist Party, with local Communist parties.

And that is the reason they behave in such way. And this is patterned not only for Japan, this is patterned in other countries including United States of America.

Mr. MORRIS. Is the Communist Party used as a recruiting area for the MVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. In some way, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us of any practical example?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, as I mentioned before, they have their own intelligence service, and this intelligence service is in charge of recruiting people for their own purposes and the purposes of the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you tell us what devices are used by the MVD in order to further their purposes? In executive session, Mr. Rastvorov, you told the subcommittee of some devices that were used in order to effectuate the purposes of your mission.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Repeat again question, please.

Mr. MORRIS. In executive session, Mr. Rastvorov, you told the subcommittee of examples of how the MVD operated in order to accomplish its mission. For instance, you mentioned that there was blackmail used.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Oh, yes, I understand very well; first of all, their task is to penetrate in government organizations of all countries, including United States, and for these purposes they are trying to find people who can give them or supply them available information, and for these purposes they are looking for people who, by their ideological belief, stay closer to the Soviet Union.

In other words, they use, as a base for recruitment, ideological belief of people. In other words, people who sympathize the cause of Communists. This is the first for recruitment approachment. And second, blackmail, all kind of blackmail. For instance, in many cases they frighten people and force them to work as agents, the people who have relatives in the Soviet Union, in other words, the people who have relatives under Communist control, for instance in European countries, satellite countries and the Soviet Union, itself.

Well, this is practically the two main bases for recruitment of people.

Mr. MORRIS. You say this particular situation, wherein an otherwise loyal American would have a relative in a Communist country—

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And that would be the principal base of recruiting agents?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, you know it's blackmail, is a general word.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us exactly what it is.

Mr. RASTVOROV. All kind of blackmail. First of all, personal behavior of the person. If a person behaves in some abnormal way—

Mr. MORRIS. You say normal, or abnormal?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Abnormal. For instance, like people, man who behave abnormally as a man, I am talking about homosexuals. For instance, in Moscow during the second war, the military attaché, by name, Faymonville—

Mr. MORRIS. Would you mind spelling that, please?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I don't know how to spell it.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean the American?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; he was military attaché in Moscow during Second World War.

Mr. MORRIS. That is not the military attaché, Mr. Faymonville?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, you are probably right, and he was approached by counterintelligence service in Moscow for recruitment of this man, because the counterintelligence service knew about his abnormal behavior, but their approach was unsuccessful, because the man refused to work with Soviet Intelligence Service, I mean, with counterintelligence service. This is example of blackmail.

I'll give you another example. When the counterintelligence service in Moscow recruited one Japanese official who was second or third secretary of Japanese Embassy in Moscow, for these purposes, they planted their agent, who was girl, and girl forced the man and he fell in love with her and then she pretended to be pregnant, and during so-called abortion, he was caught by police, and in order to reveal this very unpleasant fact for him, he decided to work with Soviet Intelligence Service, and later he was recalled to Tokyo and worked as Soviet intelligence agent in Tokyo for many years.

This is another example of blackmail. Well, they use, of course, money as a means for recruitment, and many, many things.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any experience, yourself, with the use of money?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I hadn't myself, but in many cases it worked very well against people.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean the MVD was using money?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. You knew of that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Did you know of it?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Tell us from your knowledge, what they did with this money, how much they would give to people.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, they paid them according to their information. More valuable information, more important information, they pay more for this.

Less important, they pay, of course, less. It depends on how agent is important for intelligence service. They follow this rule.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, without mentioning any names, were any Americans involved in these money transactions?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I tell you only one thing. In Tokyo the Soviet intelligence group wasn't so successful against Americans.

Mr. MORRIS. Was not?

Mr. RASTVOROV. But there were several attempts to approach people. For instance, one officer of G-2 who was major——

Mr. MORRIS. Don't give his name.

Mr. RASTVOROV. I am not going to—who was major, he was approached through letters from her sister.

Senator WELKER. His sister?

Mr. RASTVOROV. She was a girl. She was major in G-2. Intelligence officers approached her and tried to deliver her letters, which was written by her sister who lived, at that time, in the Soviet Union. In other words, as I mentioned before, it's another way to approach people and to recruit people, to frighten them.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, they were trying to use this device, on an American G-2 major?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Exactly.

Senator WELKER. What would they do to these agents that they attempted to blackmail by using their relatives behind the Iron Curtain? Would they threaten to kill the relatives?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. In other words, they always, sometimes in a polite form, sometimes in an unpolite form, that "If you don't agree to work with us, think about what is happening to your relatives." In other words, a direct threat to the life of their relatives. It is so-called blackmail. It is the worst kind of blackmail.

Senator WELKER. The worst kind of blackmail. And did you see that used or was it attempted to be used many times?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, I can give you another example, if you like it.

Mr. MORRIS. And in doing this, Mr. Rastvorov, we are not prepared today to go into individual cases. We would like just to have a hearing to cover the general framework of the thing, so if you do mention cases, I will ask that you will not mention the names of the individuals involved until we can look into each case. Do you understand?

Senator WELKER. So without mentioning the names, give us this other example that you stated you would.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I give you another example, same example, for instance. The man who belonged to diplomatic staff of Soviet Embassy in Moscow was married Russian girl. They arrested her sister and told the girl and forced the girl to work as an agent of Soviet Intelligence Service, and later this girl, being threatened, and for sake of her sister, forced her husband to be agent of the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. Was her husband an American?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; he is Japanese, also.

Mr. MORRIS. Japanese?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. And this man was very important at that particular time, because he was cipher clerk in a Japanese Embassy in Czechoslovakia in a period when Foreign Minister Matsuoka, Molotov, and Hitler negotiated.

Mr. MORRIS. Wait just a minute. Matsuoka?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; Matsuoka, Hitler, and Molotov. In this particular time—it was beginning of 1940's, I think—and being cipher clerk and knew many things about being cipher clerk, you know his job permitted him to know many things, and all negotiations and all information about these negotiations between, for instance, Matsuoka and Hitler was known to Moscow, and Beria, himself, was responsible for these operations.

Mr. MORRIS. Beria, himself?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who is presently the head of the Soviet security system?

Mr. RASTVOROV. General Serov.

Mr. MORRIS. And he is in Moscow?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, if it is your wish, we will, instead of taking further examples at this time, I would like to sketch a further area that this witness is competent to testify on.

Senator WELKER. Very well, proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any experience with Tass Agency?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. If you like, I can explain how this agency works.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you do that?

Senator WELKER. Describe for the record what Tass Agency is. We all know it, but I want the record to show it.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, officially, this is the Government section, in other words. They call it Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union. It is a part of one of the sections of Government of the Soviet Union, and they have——

Senator WELKER. That is the news reporting agency of the Soviet Union?

Mr. RASTVOROV. It is not Intelligence Service. It is official section of Government of the Soviet Union, but I am going to explain how they utilize this agency for intelligence purposes.

Senator WELKER. And it is a news agency from overseas?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, exactly.

Senator WELKER. Very well, now proceed.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Practically speaking, the people who represent this Government organ or Tass, about 85 or 90 percent of them belong to Intelligence Service, military or political intelligence service.

For instance, in Tokyo, during the war, and after the war, I mentioned several people who belonged to Intelligence Service under cover of Tass correspondents. Their names——

Mr. MORRIS. Are they intelligence personalities who are connected with Tass?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. This is Colonel Samoilov. He is staff officer of GRU, in other words, Military Intelligence Service, who work in Tokyo many years under cover of correspondent of Tass. He was chief of local Tass section in Tokyo. His true name, Sonini.

Mr. MORRIS. And who is the other gentleman, Mr. Egorov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Another man, by the name Egorov, he is Captain Egorov. He also worked as a Tass representative in Tokyo and was member of GRU.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the Military Intelligence?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Military Intelligence Service. It is hard for me to remember names of other people all over the world. If the committee needs it, probably I can do it later, but anyway, it is an example how they use the Tass Agency for intelligence purposes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, the Senate is in session now. The Senators will have to adjourn soon.

Senator WELKER. I want to adjourn after we clarify a couple of things. What was the percentage you stated?

Mr. RASTVOROV. About 80 or 90 percent of people.

Senator WELKER. 80 to 90 per cent of the Tass—

Mr. RASTVOROV. Correspondents, belong to Intelligence Service.

Senator WELKER. Correspondents belong to the Military Intelligence Service.

Mr. RASTVOROV. To the Military and Political Intelligence Service, in other words, MVD.

Senator WELKER. In other words, it is your opinion, that you are giving under oath to this committee, that, based upon your information and your belief, that 80 to 90 percent of the Tass correspondents are either members of the Military or Political Intelligence Service of the Soviet Union?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Do you know whether or not Tass has any correspondents here in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No, I don't know particularly.

Senator WELKER. As a matter of fact, you know they have them all over the world.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, exactly.

Senator WELKER. They have them reporting from the Senate Gallery over here, don't they?

Senator McCLELLAN. In order to be a member of the Intelligence Service, they have to be a member of the Communist Party, don't they?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the general area that we have intended to cover today included such things as the testimony from this witness which would bear on the feasibility of a bill providing asylum to encourage defectors, information as to the Communist use of passports and the information bearing on legislation which would possibly alter the statute of limitations with respect to former agents coming into the United States, together with a description of an organization such as VOKS.

If you gentlemen think it is of importance, we can have the witness come back at some other time to cover those general areas.

Senator WELKER. Can you go into it now? I think this is a very fine representation of the committee here.

Mr. MORRIS. We can, Senator. I am prepared to. I just thought the Senators were leaving.

Senator WELKER. Very well, proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about the operation in VOKS?

Mr. RASTVOROV. This organization, they call the cultural relationship with foreign countries, and they have their representation all over the world attached to local embassies.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you continue?

Mr. RASTVOROV. As I mentioned before about Tass, the people who maintain the cultural relationship with foreign countries practically engage in intelligence operations in foreign countries, and it is no different between Tass and the organization by name VOKS.

In other words, in spite of fact this is official Government organization, section of Government which tries to maintain a cultural relationship, but practically speaking, the personnel of this organization abroad consists of intelligence people from Military Intelligence Service and from Political Intelligence Service, MVD.

For instance, in Tokyo and in other countries I knew a couple of people who worked under cover of VOKS doing intelligence, engaged in intelligence activities.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony, Mr. Rastvorov, that you know from your own experience that the organization VOKS, which is the cultural organization of the Soviet Union——

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Which is designed to bring about cultural relations with other countries, that that, too, is a cover for intelligence operations?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Exactly, that's right.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you acquainted with an organization called the American Russian Institute?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I don't know particularly about activities of this organization, but, according to my knowledge, I know that this organization was used for intelligence purposes by intelligence service in United States, in other words.

Mr. MORRIS. You knew that the American Russian Institute was used for intelligence purposes?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, exactly. It is one object of Soviet Intelligence Service for recruitment purposes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have had testimony, considerable testimony in the course of the last 4 or 5 years, on the activities in and around the American Russian Institute.

You don't mean that everybody connected with that would be a Communist, do you?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Not exactly, of course.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean it is an organization that they control. Suppose you tell me. How do they operate it?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I repeat again, this organization such as I mentioned before, is organization which is subject for recruitment, I mean, the people who work in this organization is a subject for recruitment for intelligence purposes of Soviet Intelligence Service.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it an organization that the Communists either locally or on the MVD level control?

Mr. RASTVOROV. They control by Communist Parties.

Mr. MORRIS. By the local Communist Party?

Mr. RASTVOROV. By the local Communist Party. At the same time, their organization, which subject for intelligence purposes, Soviet intelligence purposes, military and political.

Mr. MORRIS. And you know that from your own experience?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you tell us about the use made of passports by the Soviet Union, by the Military Intelligence and Security Police of the Soviet Union?

Mr. RASTVOROV. The Military Intelligence Service and Political Intelligence Service, MVD, have special sections, so-called section of illegal intelligence work abroad. In other words, these sections, GRU and MVD, engage in training their own intelligence personnel in order later, after sending many illegally to foreign countries, and particularly in United States and Great Britain, and for these purposes they are very interested in getting documents in foreign countries, in other words, all kinds of official documents, and especially passports, diplomatic, business passports and so on and so on.

They are really interested in this and doing their best to get these passports in order to forge them and send people, they call here sleepers to these countries, and particularly in United States. The United States, at the present time, is the main object for these purposes.

Mr. MORRIS. Getting hold of the American passports?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. It is considered to be a very desirable thing for Soviet intelligence purposes?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, very.

Senator BUTLER. Have you ever seen any evidence of an attempt to counterfeit our passports?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, I know people who work in that section who engage in this.

Senator BUTLER. And they get a good passport and from that as a guide they counterfeit others, is that it?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Rastvorov, do you think it is advisable for Communists here in the United States to seek and obtain passports and travel abroad, go overseas?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Repeat again, please, question.

Senator WELKER. Do you think it is advisable for Communists to seek and receive passports from the United States, and travel abroad?

Mr. RASTVOROV. It is advisable for——?

Senator WELKER. Do you think it is a good policy for a Communist to get a passport and travel all over the country?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, it is a very good idea for Communist purposes.

Senator WELKER. How is it with respect to our Government's purposes, the United States?

Mr. RASTVOROV. It is very undesirable policy for United States Government to permit people, especially Communists or so-called pro-Soviet type, to travel in foreign countries, especially in Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe with these passports, because it is very dangerous, as I mentioned before.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know what they do with these passports?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, they use it for intelligence purposes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that from your own experience?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, I know it.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you tell us the purpose that the Soviet Union has in making use of trade missions to the United States and to other countries?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, the general policy of the Soviet Government, to send abroad as many as possible people for intelligence purposes, and they use all kinds of organizations, beginning from Embassies and all kinds of trade missions, delegations and so forth, for intelligence purposes.

In other words, their main policy of the the Soviet Government, and I repeat again, is to send abroad as many as possible intelligence people for intelligence purposes, for gathering political, economical, military and other information about countries.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any examples of a trade mission being used for Soviet intelligence purposes?

Mr. ROSTVOROV. They use trade missions, they use Embassies and diplomatic missions abroad.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you give us any experiences, any examples drawn on your own experience?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I give you example. For instance, the head of trade mission in Tokyo, Colonel Damnitskii, he is head of trade mission in Japan, but he used this official post as a cover for intelligence operation in that country, and it is all over the world the same thing, and the staff of trade missions also belong to Intelligence Service, about 70 or 80 percent.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, do you think it would be beneficial for the Congress of the United States to give consideration to encouraging people who might be defectors from the Soviet Intelligence System to come to our side?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I think it is very wise idea, if United States Government would get some plans in this respect. For instance, if it encouraged many people to come to this country, to defect, and if United States Government can guarantee them spiritual and material assistance in this country, and citizenship for the people who came to this country sincerely and trying to help free world in fight against Communists.

Mr. MORRIS. Continue.

Mr. RASTVOROV. It would be very wise if, for instance, the people like me who came to this country and helping this country in a common struggle against Communists, to give citizenship, not according to the rules which exist in this country, for instance.

If I am a member of Communist Party, then I must wait 10 years before I get citizenship, but it would be very encouragement if such people can get their citizenship sooner.

Senator BUTLER. Of course you understand they can be handled on an individual basis.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, exactly, as I mentioned.

Senator BUTLER. Without changing the basic law.

Senator WELKER. What you mean is, it would encourage more of them to come here, should they be assured that they could have citizenship?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Given to them because of their help to our country?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I think it is for each normal peoples to get citizenship and to become member of this big family.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, there are aspects of this testimony that, at staff level, we would like to pursue, and I think at this time it would be more advantageous to the committee if we took some of the testimony and followed up in concrete form some of the points that were mentioned here, and ask Mr. Rastvorov if he will come back at some later time to complete the testimony, unless it is your wish, Senator, to take some more testimony at this time.

Senator WELKER. Senator, do you have any cross examination?

Senator JENNER. I have no questions.

Senator BUTLER. May I ask your age?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I am 34.

Senator BUTLER. How long have you been engaged in the Intelligence Branch of the MVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I was in the Intelligence Service 11 years.

Senator WELKER. Without objection, the committee will suspend until further call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 21, 1956

PART 2

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:35 a. m., in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator Olin D. Johnston presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland (chairman of the subcommittee), Johnston, and Jenner.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; and Robert C. McManus, investigations analyst.

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee will come to order.

This hearing today is being held in order to aid this committee in determining to what extent Soviet authority operates through organizations other than the Communist Party. In our opening statement, the committee announced:

We shall try to determine to what extent Soviet power operates through the Communist Party here and to what extent other organizations have been devised to effectuate its purposes. We shall study the structural revisions that the Communists have made in their network in order to avoid detection, and endeavor to trace the movement of individual agents through these changing structures.

Under consideration during these hearings will be the activities of Soviet agents and agencies registered with the Department of Justice and such other agents or agencies not now registered whose activities may warrant legislative action.

Will you call the first witness?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the first witness will be Harry Freeman.

Mr. Freeman, will you come forward, please?

Mr. FREEMAN. I am here.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman is the deputy manager of the Tass Agency in this country, Senator, and he is being asked to testify here because he is the ranking American in Tass.

Senator JOHNSTON. Hold up your right hand and be sworn.

Mr. RAND. Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Freeman is sworn, may I, as his counsel, request that the lights be put out and that the cameramen be asked to desist from taking further photographs during the hearing?

Senator JOHNSTON. Put out the brightest lights. We may need some lights here, of course.

Mr. RAND. I am talking about these bright lights.

Senator JOHNSTON. The bright lights. Well, turn off the bright ones.

Mr. RAND. And may I request that the photographers be asked to desist from taking any further photographs during the testimony?

Senator JENNER. During the testimony.

Senator JOHNSTON. During the testimony, that is allowed when requested.

Mr. RAND. They will be asked to desist, then, Mr. Chairman?

Senator JOHNSTON. Yes.

You may proceed.

Hold up your right hand. Do you swear that the evidence you give here to this subcommittee hearing will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FREEMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HARRY FREEMAN, NEW YORK, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY HARRY I. RAND, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. RAND. Mr. Chairman, I note that the photographers are still taking pictures. I thought that they were asked to desist from doing so.

Mr. MORRIS. Is any photographer taking pictures there now?

A VOICE. No.

A VOICE. I was.

Senator JOHNSTON. They were making no pictures of him.

A VOICE. We can take the committee, can't we?

Senator JENNER. You can take pictures of the committee.

Senator JOHNSTON. You can take the pictures of the committee. That is all right, just as long as you do not take pictures of the witness.

Mr. RAND. What are these photographers doing down here, may I ask?

A VOICE. We are on our way out.

Mr. RAND. They do not seem to be on their way out.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do not take any pictures while they are testifying.

Senator JENNER. Now, Mr. Freeman is a newspaperman. He must recognize that those boys have got to get a few pictures.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman, will you give your full name and address to the reporter, please?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes. My name is Harry Freeman.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your address?

Mr. FREEMAN. My address is 22 East 89th Street, New York, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your occupation?

Mr. FREEMAN. My occupation is that of journalist.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. And where are you working now?

Mr. FREEMAN. I am working at the Tass Agency. And, Mr. Morris, if I may be of some aid to the committee, may I read a statement which I have prepared for the committee at this point?

Senator JENNER. How long is it?

Senator JOHNSTON. How long is it?

Mr. FREEMAN. It is a very short statement, two and a half pages.

Senator JOHNSTON. Proceed with it.

Mr. FREEMAN. This committee purports, as I understand it, to be investigating the activities of the American bureau of Tass.

The fact is that there is nothing whatever to investigate. The activities of Tass are those of any large news bureau. Furthermore, the American bureau of Tass is required to, and does, file semiannually with the Department of Justice a full report of its activities and operations, including its financial expenditures, et cetera.

It is required under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act to keep on file copies of its news stories, papers, documents, et cetera, for a period of 3 years. These files are open to inspection by the governmental authorities and they have been carefully scrutinized by the authorities in question.

The functions of the Tass bureau, as described in sworn statements submitted to the Department of Justice, are as follows:

Gathering and transmitting American news and United Nations news to the U. S. S. R. Our news sources include: The dispatches of American news agencies with which we have contractual relations (the Associated Press and the United Press); newspapers published in New York, Washington, and various other cities of the United States and Latin America; magazines and other periodicals; press releases and reports issued by governmental and private agencies and institutions. In addition, our correspondents directly cover important press conferences, public meetings and other developments when circumstances and our resources permit.

For instance, TASS correspondents cover the meetings of the United Nations Security Council and other United Nations bodies; our correspondents in Washington cover White House and State Department press conferences and important congressional debates, etc.

On the basis of these sources, we write out daily news reports. After the reports are written and edited, they are transmitted through the usual commercial communications channels. At the present time, almost our entire wordage goes through RCA. Occasionally, when RCA communications are disrupted, we transmit via Press Wireless or Western Union.

Besides our daily cable service, we transmit mail articles on subjects of a less "spot" character. Our area of coverage includes Latin America as well as the United States, and our reports about Latin America are based on the dispatches of the American news agencies as well as on Latin American newspapers and periodicals.

We also transmit a commercial service, giving prices of grains, bristles, furs, etc., and other commercial and economic news. All of our news is transmitted to our home office in Moscow for distribution to Tass clients. We distribute nothing in the United States, except for supplying copies of our news messages to the Soviet Embassy in Washington and the delegation of the U. S. S. R. to the United Nations.

As for myself, I would like to point out to this committee that my whole working life has been devoted to the practice of journalism, and nothing else.

After graduating from Cornell University in 1926, I found employment with the Brooklyn Daily Eagle and the Brooklyn Times. Early in 1927 I joined the staff of the Daily Worker, and remained there until the fall of 1928, when I left to do graduate work in history at Columbia University. In 1929 I got a job with the Tass agency and have been there ever since.

As a correspondent, I have had the opportunity to cover many of the important events of the past quarter of a century, including the San Francisco Conference of 1945, which founded the United Nations, most of the national conventions of the Republican and Democratic Parties, et cetera.

Twice in the past I have been elected to the vice presidency of the Foreign Press Association, and I served for 2 years as a member of the standing committee of United Nations correspondents.

In conclusion, I would like to say this:

Last month this committee engaged in an investigation which in the opinion of the New York Times represented an effort to harass the press and particularly the Times. It appears that now the committee has selected the Tass news agency as a target of attack.

In the light of the known facts about the operations of the Tass bureau, the question arises whether this committee is genuinely interested in the facts or whether it is engaged in an attempt to intimidate and harass the American employees of the Tass bureau and to discredit the bureau of a great news agency.

That is the end of the statement, Senator Jenner.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to answer the last paragraph of Mr. Freeman's statement, that this committee is genuinely interested in Tass and its operations because this committee has recently had sworn testimony before it that the Tass news agency is used for espionage work in this country and throughout the world. So we are genuinely interested in your activities, Mr. Freeman.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman, could you tell us how many employees there are now employed in the United States by Tass?

Mr. FREEMAN. The number of employees I think is about 23. I am not sure. I have the last registration statement which we filed with the Department of Justice.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Freeman, if there are any additions to the list that you filed with the Department of Justice, we ask that you give us the names of those, in addition to those that are listed on the registration.

Mr. FREEMAN. Right; yes, sir, to the best of my recollection. I am not sure that I can recall. We have two people on pensions who are not actively engaged in Tass, people who had worked for Tass in the past and are now retired on pensions. Their names are Kenneth Durant and Laurence Todd.

Then there is Mr. Leonid Velichansky, who was the acting manager of the Tass bureau.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Velichansky is the acting head of the Tass bureau?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. You said he had the title of acting head?

Mr. FREEMAN. Acting manager.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the manager?

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, the last manager, Mr. Ivan Beglov, returned to the Soviet Union last year. Mr. Velichansky was appointed acting manager. He has not been given the title of manager.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, will you spell Mr. Beglov's name for the record, please?

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Beglov's name is Ivan, I-v-a-n; Beglov, B-e-g-l-o-v.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, where is he now, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. He is in the Soviet Union, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, you say Mr. Velichansky is the acting head of the agency?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell his name for the record?

Mr. FREEMAN. His name is Leonid, L-e-o-n-i-d; Velichansky, V-e-l-i-c-h-a-n-s-k-y.

Mr. MORRIS. How long has he been acting head of the bureau?

Mr. FREEMAN. He has been acting head of the bureau since the departure of Mr. Beglov, which was in the spring of last year. The exact month was in March. One moment. In May; May of last year.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. I wonder if you would at this point in the record, Mr. Freeman, list for us the heads of the Tass bureau here in the United States for the last 15 years.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes. Do you want the dates?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, please.

Mr. FREEMAN. Or the approximate dates?

Mr. MORRIS. To the best of your ability, Mr. Freeman.

Mr. FREEMAN. Kenneth Durant was the first manager of the American bureau of Tass. He served as manager from January 1923 to January 1944.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, he was an American citizen; was he not?

Mr. FREEMAN. He was an American citizen.

Mr. MORRIS. But he was the last American citizen to head Tass?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is correct. He was succeeded by Mr. Vladimir Pravdin.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. FREEMAN. Vladimir, V-l-a-d-i-m-i-r; Pravdin, P-r-a-v-d-i-n.

Mr. Pravdin was manager of the bureau from January 1944, until December 1945.

The next manager of the bureau was Alexander Alexandrov. As a matter of fact, his title for the period was that of acting manager. He had the title of acting manager from December 1945, to February 1948. He was given the title of manager in February 1948, and served as manager of the bureau until May 1949.

Following Mr. Alexandrov, a Mr. Vladimir Morev served as acting manager. The spelling is Vladimir, V-l-a-d-i-m-i-r; Morev, M-o-r-e-v. He served as acting manager until March 1950.

In March 1950, Mr. Ivan Beglov began serving as manager. He served from March 1950, to May 1955, when he was succeeded by Mr. Velichansky as acting manager.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Mr. Freeman.

Now, of the present employees, could you tell us how many are nationalists of the Soviet Union and how many are American citizens?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes. I will read them off and designate.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you.

Mr. FREEMAN. I believe I mentioned the names of the two people retired from the Bureau, and on pension: Kenneth Durant and Laurence Todd. Mr. Leonid Velichansky, acting manager of the bureau; Harry Freeman——

Mr. RAND. I think——

Mr. FREEMAN. Esther Shields——

Mr. RAND. I think Mr. Morris wanted designations of Soviet citizens.

Mr. FREEMAN. I am sorry. Mr. Leonid Velichansky, Soviet citizen; Harry Freeman, American citizen; Esther Shields, American citizen; E. Delgado-Rodriguez, American; Jerome Klein, American;

Sasha Lurie, American; Frederick Van Wicklen, American; Hays Jones, American; Jessie Harris—I am not quite sure about her. She was born, I believe, in Canada, but I don't know quite about her status.

Nancy Bell; Rudolph Israel, American; Georgi Bolshakov, Soviet national. I might say about Mr. Bolshakov that he returned for vacation some months ago. He is not in the country at the present time. He is head of the Washington subbureau, but he is not here.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you heard from him since he returned?

Mr. FREEMAN. I have not, Mr. Morris.

Anatoly Saveliev, Soviet citizen.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. FREEMAN. Anatoly—A-n-a-t-o-l-y; Saveliev—S-a-v-e-l-i-e-v.

Mr. Mikhail Lopoukhin; the first name, the Russian spelling, would be M-i-k-h-a-i-l; the last name L-o-p-o-u-k-h-i-n.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Freeman, is he the gentleman who escorted the visiting Soviet delegations in the United States here recently?

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, as I remember, he went with the Soviet writers' delegation who visited the country recently, and part of the tour of the agricultural delegation. I think he accompanied them on part of the tour, and not the whole tour.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did he do that in the capacity of a Tass correspondent or just as a friendly guide to his countrymen?

Mr. FREEMAN. As I understand it, as a Tass correspondent.

Vladimir Paramonov, V-l-a-d-i-m-i-r P-a-r-a-m-o-n-o-v, Soviet citizen; Mikhail Alyabyev, Soviet citizen. The spelling of Alyabyev is A-l-y-a-b-y-e-v.

That completes the list of all editorial employees.

Mr. MORRIS. How about the other than editorial employees?

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, I can list those if you wish: Harry Fisher, American; Ruth Fisher, American; Charles Zimmerman, American; Klava Gertsena—K-l-a-v-a G-e-r-t-s-e-n-a, Soviet citizen; Adelaida—A-d-e-l-a-i-d-a, Gouk—G-o-u-k; Evgenia, E-v-g-e-n-i-a, Kondakova, K-o-n-d-a-k-o-v-a; Soviet citizen.

That completes it except that we have one part-time typist, who fills in a few evenings a week, whose last name I don't recall. It was just during the United Nations General Assembly when we were very rushed.

Mr. MORRIS. And you will supply us with his name, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will be glad to.

(The subcommittee was later advised that the name is Leonard Cohen.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman, where do these people physically work?

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, some in New York and some in Washington. If you wish, I can designate which work in New York and which work in Washington.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, just tell us the ones who work in Washington and then generalize with respect to the rest of them.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Georgi Bolshakov, who is now on leave; Mr. Vladimir Paramonov—

Mr. MORRIS. Where is Paramonov? In Washington?

Mr. FREEMAN. In Washington; yes. He is an accredited correspondent.

Miss Adelaida Gouk, who is a teletypist.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have the spelling on that one?

(The reporter answered in the affirmative.)

Mr. FREEMAN. And Miss or Mrs. Evgenia Kondakova was a teletypist.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, where is the Washington office of Tass?

Mr. FREEMAN. In the National Press Building.

Mr. MORRIS. And where is the New York office of Tass?

Mr. FREEMAN. In the Associated Press Building in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. And all of those New York employees physically work in the New York office?

Mr. FREEMAN. They physically work in the New York office. We also have, I might add, an office in the United Nations Building which we use occasionally when United Nations meetings are going on. Occasionally we are over there.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, is that a subdivision of the New York office?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes. It is not a regular bureau. It is part of our New York bureau. When the United Nations General Assembly meets some of us will go over and cover it, or the Security Council meetings; some of the correspondents will go over and cover it.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Freeman, you are engaged in the work of general reporting; is that right?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. How many words a day do you report on an average?

Mr. FREEMAN. You mean I personally?

Mr. MORRIS. The bureau.

Mr. FREEMAN. The bureau. On the average day it would be between 5,000 and 6,000. I would say our monthly quota is 175,000. If it is a very busy day, of course, as the newspapermen around these tables know, we will send much more. We may send 10,000 or 12,000 or 15,000. If it is a quiet day, maybe 2,000 or 3,000. It fluctuates. But the quota is 175,000.

Mr. MORRIS. And how do you transmit those reports to the Soviet Union?

Mr. FREEMAN. We transmit it through the usual commercial communications channels, primarily through RCA. We have a special, what they call, volume-word arrangement with RCA whereby we get a cheaper rate for sending over 30,000 words a month.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you transmit any of that information that you collect to any source in the United States?

Mr. FREEMAN. No; except as we say in the registration statements, our final news report—copies of our final news report are sent to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, which receives it just as it receives it from the United Press, and so on, and also a copy goes to the Soviet delegation to the United Nations.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what kind of news do you try to transmit to the Soviet Union, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, news of all sorts: Political news, economic news, cultural news. We try to report the American election campaigns. We report the President's press conferences, the Secretary of State's press conferences. We report conferences held by Mr. Hammarskjöld of the United Nations. We report meetings of the Security Council. We try to do little reports on cultural news, important plays, books.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you try to report everything you possibly can, as any good reporter would?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes; we try to give them some picture of what is happening in the country for our readers abroad.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman, I have here a news clipping from the Scripps-Howard newspapers. It is dated October 8, 1951. I would like to read it to you and ask you generally how this particular bit of reporting, if it is accurate, fits in with your general scheme.

This is from the Washington News—

Mr. MANDEL. The Washington Daily News of October 8, 1951:

Employees of Tass, the Russian "news" agency claim to be newspaper reporters. But sometimes the information they seek falls more into the category of military secrets rather than news.

John Rudy, public relations director for the National Federation of American Shipping, recalls such a case.

About a week after the Korean war started, he said, a girl employee of Tass telephoned to inquire about ships in the Pacific. At first, Mr. Rudy said, her questions were general, but they soon became specific.

"How many American ships were in waters near Korea?" she asked.

Mr. Rudy stalled off her questions, saying he did not have such information at his fingertips and most of it was secret, because many of the ships were under orders of the Military Sea Transportation Service.

Back again.

The same girl called back a few days later and resumed her questioning, Mr. Rudy said. This time she was persistent, even though Mr. Rudy again mentioned that the information was classified.

Well, she wanted to know, how about private vessels not under the Military Transportation Service. How many were in Korean waters? What types were they? What tonnage? What cargoes? Speed? When built? How many ships did the United States have abroad? How many ships were being built abroad?

Mr. Rudy failed to answer her questions, saying that would be a job for the federation's researcher. He later instructed the research man not to answer any such questions for Tass.

Navy Said No.

Also he consulted the Navy, which advised him not to give out such information.

A short time later another employee of Tass, this time a man, called and asked the same type of questions. But he wanted to know about military supplies being moved to Europe. Mr. Rudy didn't answer his questions, either.

Recently the girl from Tass called Mr. Rudy's secretary and tried to get shipping information. Mr. Rudy warned his whole office, so no information was forthcoming.

All during that period, Mr. Rudy said, no American reporter ever inquired about American shipping to the Far East. Mr. Rudy said the subject was raised once or twice in social conversations he had with American reporters, but as soon as he mentioned that the information was classified, the American reporters shied from the subject.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, in connection with this particular report, I had not seen it until this morning, and I phoned Mr. Rudy, and he affirmed to me on the phone that the contents of that story were correct, and as you know, the committee may subpoena him to so testify if it is necessary.

I was wondering, Mr. Freeman, if you would just generally relate that particular report, if it is true from your point of view, to your function that you perform.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes. I don't mean to cast any aspersions whatever on the Scripps-Howard service, which is a great news service. But I would say to my knowledge there is no foundation whatsoever for

that story, and it is completely out of character with the nature of our work. I do not know the basis of the story whatever. I don't know whether some innocent query was distorted as to meaning. I know nothing about the incident. If I had the precise data, I might try to check the original report and see if there is the slightest grain of sense in it.

But all I can say right now is that it has no foundation whatever, to my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Aren't those questions that might be asked by any, you might say, aggressive newspaper reporter?

Mr. FREEMAN. Sir?

Mr. MORRIS. Are those not questions that might be asked by any aggressive newspaper reporter?

Mr. FREEMAN. Some reporters perhaps might ask those. I don't think any Tass reporter would.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean your contention is, or your statement is, that Tass newspaper reporters do not pursue their facts with the same zeal that some of their fellow American reporters might do?

Mr. FREEMAN. A query about movement of ships in the vicinity of Korea? I am sure no Tass correspondent would ever ask.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Even though, as I say, Mr. Rudy had made that statement himself this morning?

Mr. FREEMAN. I feel sure. Yes, I still feel confident in what I say.

Mr. RAND. Judge Morris, may we have an identification of Mr. Rudy? I did not get it.

Mr. MORRIS. John Rudy is the public-relations director for the National Federation of American Shipping. He is here in Washington.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think we had better have the attorney identify himself for the record. I do not believe that has been done.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Attorney, will you identify yourself for the record, please?

Mr. RAND. Harry I. Rand, attorney, Wyatt Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Freeman, you are an American citizen; are you not?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. MORRIS. You were born in the United States?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And you graduated from Columbia University?

Mr. FREEMAN. No. I did undergraduate work at Cornell University. I graduated from Cornell and did a little graduate work at Columbia University later.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, what has been your employment from the time you left Columbia?

Mr. FREEMAN. My employment—when I left the university, I got a job, as I said in my statement, with the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, and then with the Brooklyn Times. Then I went to work for the Daily Worker from about spring, about March 1927 to September 1928. And as I noted in the executive session, your research director there, Mr. Mandel, was business manager of the Daily Worker at the time, he can confirm it. Then I returned to the university and went to Columbia, and did graduate work until I joined Tass early in 1929, February or March, as I recall.

Mr. MORRIS. You also did some work for Amtorg; did you not?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes; I did. As I mentioned in the executive session, while I was going to Columbia University, I put in a few hours a week there helping edit a catalog.

Mr. MORRIS. And then you have been at Tass continuously since 1929?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. 1929 is the date?

Mr. FREEMAN. 1929.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you, when you took employment with Tass, a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. FREEMAN. In this connection, I would like to read you, Mr. Morris, a statement that I read you in executive committee, a statement of office policy in reference to such matters.

Approximately in 1941 the manager of the bureau, at that time, Mr. Kenneth Durant—

The CHAIRMAN. Read it a little louder. I cannot hear you.

Mr. FREEMAN. I am sorry, sir.

In 1941 Mr. Durant, the manager of the bureau, thought it advisable to draw up a statement for the guidance of employees and possible employees of the bureau, and this statement read as follows:

At the time of their original employment, all members of the staff of this bureau were informed of the rule against participation in political activity. You are reminded that this rule permits no exceptions. Staff members are not expected to relinquish the ordinary rights of American citizens, voting, et cetera, but they are requested not to participate in the work of any political organization or group.

Anyone who feels unable to comply with this ruling is asked to resign from the staff and to refrain from such activity until connection with the bureau is entirely severed. It is necessary not only to refrain from political activity but also to avoid anything which might have the appearance of political activity or which might be misconstrued as such.

Senator JOHNSTON. That does not keep you from answering the question that the attorney asked, does it?

Mr. RAND. May I consult with the witness?

Mr. MORRIS. You may, counsel.

(Counsel consults with the witness.)

Mr. FREEMAN. To simplify the procedure, Your Honor, on these questions about Communist Party membership, and so on, the answer to Communist Party membership is "No," going back to August 1941. My answer to any question prior to that period is to invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment and to decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you resign from the Communist Party in August 1941, Mr. Freeman?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. FREEMAN. I decline to answer that, Judge, invoking my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Senator JOHNSTON. That would lead us to believe that that is when you resigned, when you date it at the time you were not going to answer the question; would it not?

Mr. FREEMAN. I cannot help any conclusions or inferences you may wish to draw, Senator. I will continue to invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman, have you not written articles for the Daily Worker since you have been employed by Tass?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. FREEMAN. From 1941 to date the answer is "No." Prior to that I decline.

Mr. MORRIS. You refuse to answer?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. On what grounds?

Mr. FREEMAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you, since you have been a Tass newsman, associated with people whom you have known to be active in Soviet espionage?

Mr. FREEMAN. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. Not to your knowledge. Did you know a party named Hede Massing, who has testified before this committee?

Mr. FREEMAN. On that, Judge, I will invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been guilty of espionage?

Mr. FREEMAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. At any time?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, Senator, never.

Mr. MORRIS. In view of your declination to answer the question, Mr. Freeman, about Hede Massing, would you want to change your answer to the first question?

Mr. FREEMAN. Will you repeat the first question?

Mr. MORRIS. The first question, in the interests of saving time, as I recall it, was this: Have you, since you have been a Tass correspondent, associated with anyone whom you knew to be active in the Soviet espionage apparatus?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will decline to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you will revise your answer?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. FREEMAN. I decline to answer that, and I invoke the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. What Government departments do you have access to, sir?

Mr. FREEMAN. Government departments?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FREEMAN. None whatever, Senator. I work in New York and I am completely lost in Washington.

Well, let me amend that. I have been to a few State Department press conferences, very few.

The CHAIRMAN. In Washington?

Mr. FREEMAN. In Washington, yes, when we were short-handed in Washington. I have come down here occasionally to lend a hand. I have covered a few State Department press conferences. I have covered a few White House press conferences.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been in the Pentagon?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, never. I don't even know where it is, to tell you the truth.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know that Whittaker Chambers had operated in work in the Soviet apparatus?

Mr. FREEMAN. I decline to answer that, invoking my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever have any associations with Gerhardt Eisler?

Mr. FREEMAN. I decline to answer that, invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have any knowledge that Gerhardt Eisler was working for the Comintern and— Answer that question.

Mr. FREEMAN. I decline to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have any knowledge that he was working for a Soviet espionage ring?

Mr. FREEMAN. Again I want to invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you seen Gerhardt Eisler since August 1941?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will again invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. You see, Mr. Freeman, the difficulty for the committee to determine the facts in this case presented by your testimony here today. You have denied in general, acts of espionage. At the same time, when we ask you about your association with individuals who, this committee has evidence, did act in that capacity, you invoke your constitutional privilege. And that leaves us in a difficult position to draw any conclusions, Mr. Freeman.

Mr. FREEMAN. It may, Judge. I am not responsible for that.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a Russian espionage agent who served as a photographer, named Anton?

Mr. FREEMAN. The name means nothing to me.

Mr. MORRIS. The name means nothing. I will tell you, he worked with Hede Massing's espionage apparatus here in the United States.

Mr. FREEMAN. The name means nothing to me.

Mr. MORRIS. The name means nothing to you.

Did you know Paul Massing?

Mr. FREEMAN. I decline to answer, and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a gentleman named Novikov, a Russian?

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't recall the name, Judge. If he was a Soviet Embassy official, I may have met him.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right. He was a Soviet Embassy official.

Mr. FREEMAN. It is possible that I met him at some reception or something of that sort, but the name means nothing to me.

Mr. MORRIS. And, Mr. Freeman, did you know Mr. Vladimir Rogov?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes; very slightly. He was a Tass correspondent who passed through here on the way to London. I don't recall the exact year. He dropped in to our office in Tass, and that is the only acquaintance I have with him.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you make any appointments with him, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. Appointments with Mr. Rogov?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you make any for him, Rogov?

Mr. FREEMAN. No; none whatever.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a Soviet official named Nikolai Zheveinov?

Mr. FREEMAN. Nikolai Zheveinov? There was a Nikolai Zheveinov who worked in Tass in New York for a period of about a year or two. He was a Tass correspondent. I don't recall the exact year. It may have been 1944 or something of that sort. But you could ascertain the dates from our registration statements. I don't recall. I think it was 1944 or something of that sort.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know that he was involved in espionage in North America?

Mr. FREEMAN. I did not know that, and I would be very skeptical of such a statement unless I saw evidence that really corroborated it.

Mr. MORRIS. I do not know whether you would accept the report of the Canadian Commission, but there is reference to him in that.

Will you read the reference, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

Upon this telegram Zabotin wrote his signature and the date, August 14, 1945, as above, and on the same date cabled the following reply * * * Martin received a reply from Dekanozov with permission to leave for home. As a result of Martin's work at the San Francisco Conference and his sickness about a month, the latter was unable to write reports on your Tass.

Then the Canadian Commission comments:

The Martin referred to in the second paragraph is Zheveinov, of Tass.

That is from page 377 of the report of the Canadian Royal Commission.

Mr. FREEMAN. I know nothing about that. All I can say is that while Mr. Zheveinov functioned as a Tass correspondent in New York, he functioned as a bona fide correspondent, and I have no reason to doubt that he was anything but a correspondent.

Mr. MORRIS. You and Zheveinov shared a hotel room in San Francisco together, did you not?

Mr. FREEMAN. No. Zheveinov was not in San Francisco. To the best of my recollection, no.

Mr. MORRIS. And you did not stay there with him at the time?

Mr. FREEMAN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you in San Francisco during the founding sessions of the United Nations Organization?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, of course. I mentioned that to you.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you stay at the Palace Hotel?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. But Mr. Zheveinov was not there at the same time?

Mr. FREEMAN. No. I am quite sure that Mr. Zheveinov had already left our bureau.

Mr. MORRIS. I mean that could still be. He could have left the bureau and he still could have been there, Mr. Freeman.

Mr. FREEMAN. I can answer that with almost a categorical no, that he was not. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Zheveinov was not in San Francisco.

Mr. MORRIS. What were your contacts with Constantine Oumansky?

Mr. FREEMAN. Constantine Oumansky was the Soviet Ambassador.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you associate with him frequently?

Mr. FREEMAN. I saw him occasionally. I remember having dinner with him once or twice. I saw him at Soviet Embassy receptions and that sort of thing.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, we have here— Do you know Mr. Molotov?

Mr. FREEMAN. I met Mr. Molotov in the course of my duties as a journalist. I met him at several receptions in San Francisco and in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Well, here is a photograph of yourself and Mr. Molotov which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post. I wonder if you would look at that, Mr. Freeman.

(A document was shown to the witness.)

Mr. FREEMAN. Of course. I remember that photograph. This was a photograph taken at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. It was a dinner given by the Foreign Press Association in honor of the four foreign ministers of the Four Great Powers. I was vice president of the association at that time and was seated next to Mr. Molotov, and seated at the same table with former Secretary of State Byrnes and Mr. Bevan, who was the British Foreign Minister, and I forget who was there for France, actually, and Mr. Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, who was president of the General Assembly at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman, could you tell this committee of any of your associations with Whittaker Chambers, or do I understand that your position is that with respect to all associations with Chambers, you will invoke your constitutional privilege?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, I will invoke my constitutional privilege on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, if I may, I would like to have read into the record a page from Whittaker Chambers' book, *The Witness*.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing). Because I think it has a bearing on this problem.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MANDEL. Excerpt from *The Witness* by Whittaker Chambers, pages 217-219:

In the Communist movement, I met two other intellectuals who were several cuts above the members of the Nearing study group. One of them was Sender Garlin, the nervous, redheaded young man who had arranged my first contact with the Communist Party. He was not yet a member of the Communist Party, though he soon became one. At that time he was working as a reporter for the Bronx Home News. He introduced me to someone of much greater specific gravity than himself—Harry Freeman, the younger brother of Joseph Freeman, the writer.

I recently opened a copy of the Saturday Evening Post to a photograph that ran across the top of one page. It was a picture of a banquet for Vyacheslav Molotov. Beside the Soviet Foreign Minister, and turned toward him deferentially in conversation, was my old comrade, Harry Freeman. He was sleeker than he had been 25 years before, but, except for the fact that he wore a formal black tie, not otherwise much changed. He is now, and has been, in effect or in fact, for many years, the assistant chief in the United States of Tass, the Soviet Government's official news service.

When I first knew him, Harry Freeman was just out of Cornell University, where he had brilliantly majored in history. He was a very middle-class intellectual, extremely youthful-looking, but quietly self-assured and perfectly confident of himself. * * * It was an entirely new type of mind to me. No matter how favorable his opinion had been to an individual or his political role, if that person fell from grace in the Communist Party, Harry Freeman changed his opinion about him instantly. That was not strange; that was a commonplace of

Communist behavior. What was strange was that Harry seemed to change without any effort or embarrassment. There seemed to vanish from his mind any recollection that he had ever held any opinion other than the approved one. If you taxed him with his former views, he would show surprise, and that surprise would be authentic. He would then demonstrate to you, in a series of mental acrobatics so flexible that the shifts were all but untraceable, that he had never thought anything else. More adroitly and more completely than any other Communist I knew, Harry Freeman possessed the conviction that the party line is always right.

He had been an ardent admirer of Trotsky. "The three greatest minds of our times," he said to me more than once, "are Freud, Einstein, and Trotsky." But the moment Trotsky fell from power, Harry Freeman became a Stalinist overnight, and so completely a Stalinist that he was outraged that I should suggest that he had ever been anything else. I dwell on this because he was a faultless example of the Stalinist mind—instantly manipulable, pragmatic, motivated by the instinctive knowledge that political position (contingent in the Communist Party on unfailingly correct official views) is indispensable to political power. And that power he desired, not for himself, but for revolutionary ends, for without political power, nothing can be achieved in history—certainly not a revolution. In personal relations, Harry Freeman was an extremely kind and even sensitive man. But his sensitivity never got in the way of his realism.

I remember that one day, when we were both working at the Daily Worker office on First Street, we walked up the Bowery together at noon. We were going to have lunch with Ruth Stout, the sister of Rex Stout, the detective story writer of Nero Wolfe fame. It was bitter cold and the wretched Bowery floaters, most of them without overcoats, were trying to find shelter in doorways or warmth beside pathetic fires. A shivering derelict came up to us and asked for a handout. Harry glanced past him, which was the proper Communist attitude. Communists hold that to give alms is to dull the revolutionary spirit of the masses, but I could never get out of my mind the 50-cent piece that Jules Radon had left on my bed in New Orleans. I gave the wretched man what change I had in my pocket. He seized my hand and kissed it. The gesture was so shocking that I could not control my feelings. Harry drew me away. "You must not think about them," he said, very gently, for he, too, was deeply moved. "We can't save them they are lost. We can only save our generation, perhaps, and the children." There spoke the Communist, and, from the Communist position, he was right and I was wrong.

I am convinced that Harry Freeman in his black tie, sitting next to Molotov behind the silver and the linen, still believes that he is saving the children. But his mind tells him that the way to save them is to exercise a certain kind of political power, and to have that power to exercise as a revolutionist, it is necessary to be adept in making instant adjustments to the official party line. Which is more important: The power or the adjustment? As a realist, Freeman would answer: The power.

That is the mind of the Communist bureaucrat. It is a kind of mind that, even as a Communist, I found alien to me. But it is a mind that I think I understand, and that I think most of its opponents do not understand, for they suppose that it is greedy only for power, and not the revolutionary ends which that power has in view. In that lies the danger of underestimating the force of faith that moves the enemy, and a failure also to grasp to what degree the revolution has grown up and history has transformed the techniques of struggle. There are no more barricades. Communist power today rides in tank armies and conspires in black ties to overthrow its enemies. But the Stalinist has changed only his tie, not his mind.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman, would you want to give any testimony with respect to any of the episodes that took place and are referred to by Mr. Chambers in The Witness?

Mr. FREEMAN. No. I will invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment there.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman, do you know John Abt?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will claim my privilege under the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you have knowledge that John Abt was active in espionage for the Soviet organization? Did you have knowledge of that fact?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. FREEMAN. I have no knowledge of that whatsoever, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. But you will not tell us what your associations with John Abt have been?

Mr. FREEMAN. I have already told you: My privilege on that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a woman named Ursula Wasserman? She was formerly an American citizen. She formerly worked at the United Nations. I think she has renounced her American citizenship.

Mr. FREEMAN. I recall having met a girl whom I knew very slightly—I think I met her twice in my life—by that name, many years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. But you were not particularly friendly with her?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, no.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge was Ursula Wasserman a member of the Harry Hines' Waterfront Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. FREEMAN. I wouldn't have the slightest idea. She may have been or may not have been.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Do you know a woman named Louise Bransten?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. About Louise Bransten?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you in contact with her during the San Francisco founding of the United Nations in 1945?

Mr. FREEMAN. I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you in fact a guest at her home on or about April 29, 1945, in San Francisco?

Mr. FREEMAN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you go to her home in the company of a woman named Elinore Kahn?

Mr. FREEMAN. I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever go to the home of Elinore Kahn in company with Louise Bransten?

Mr. FREEMAN. I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Mr. and Mrs. Pravdin? The first name of the gentleman is Vladimir.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes. I listed him as the manager of our bureau for the period—I forget the period. It was approximately 1945. He was the manager of our bureau from January 1944 to December 1945.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, was Mrs. Pravdin a part of Elizabeth Bentley's espionage apparatus?

Mr. FREEMAN. Not that I know of.

Mr. MORRIS. There is one other question I would like to ask you about Ursula Wasserman, Mr. Freeman. I should have asked it sooner.

Have you ever given letters to Ursula Wasserman to be delivered to personnel in South America?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes. I remember. As a matter of fact, I remembered it only because I saw it in a newspaper, something of that sort, or I would have forgotten it completely.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us what——

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes. I knew her very slightly. She was going to Argentina to do journalism of some sort, and she asked whether I would give her a letter of introduction to the Tass correspondent there, which I did. I didn't know the Tass correspondent actually, but I just identified her as an American journalist, which was all I knew about her, actually.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman, have you ever had any contact with an official of the Comintern named Ewart, a German who used the name Ewart?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever had any contact with the Comintern representative who used the assumed name of Cohen?

Mr. FREEMAN. The name means nothing to me, but I will invoke——
(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. MORRIS. He had an office——

Mr. FREEMAN. I am sorry, Judge.

Mr. MORRIS. He had an office, I believe, in the Daily Worker, and for a period of time he was asked—— A few people were privy to the fact that he had arrived in the country and he would be directing the Daily Worker, and it is our information that you were privy to that secret.

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. FREEMAN. I will invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Did this gentleman ever visit you at—— Did you ever have an apartment in Henry Street, Brooklyn?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did this gentleman—I believe he is a Scotsman—— ever visit you at your Henry Street apartment in Brooklyn?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Edwin Smith?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes; I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Edwin Smith?

Mr. FREEMAN. Edwin Smith is a private businessman who distributes Soviet photographs to the press. He sells them to the press. He also is an agent handling Soviet music.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have been a friend of his for many years?

Mr. FREEMAN. Not many. I would say about 4 or 5 years. I have known him about 4 or 5 years.

Mr. MORRIS. Four or five years. Do you know Paul Robeson?

Mr. FREEMAN. Very slightly. I have met him at receptions and that sort of thing.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended parties or dinners in his honor?

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't recall, Judge Morris. I remember having seen him at some diplomatic receptions, and so forth.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Robert F. Hall?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Alexander Trachtenberg?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will invoke my privilege again, Judge.

Mr. MORRIS. Charles Recht?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Charles Recht—that is R-e-c-h-t—you know, he has been counsel for the Soviet Embassy in New York, American counselor; has he not?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will invoke my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Hugh Deane?

Mr. FREEMAN. There is a— Is he a journalist, a newspaperman?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. FREEMAN. I would not say I know him. I met him once or twice.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know William E. Dodd, Jr.?

Mr. FREEMAN. William E. Dodd? Yes.

Mr. RAND. Junior?

Mr. FREEMAN. Junior?

Mr. RAND. Junior, you said, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Junior, yes.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he work for Tass?

Mr. FREEMAN. He worked for Tass for a short time. I don't remember the year exactly. It was quite some time ago, in the very early forties.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Howard Fast?

Mr. FREEMAN. I will invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know James Allen?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is James Allen?

Mr. FREEMAN. James Allen is an editor—an author of books and an editor.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Freeman, from time to time we have noticed that some of the Communist publications, some of the Communist-language publications here, make reference to Tass news dispatches and refer to Tass Wire Service.

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, I suppose they do. But I imagine that the New York Times—I see them much more often in the New York Times or the New York Herald Tribune or the Washington Post than any other newspapers.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that you do not service those papers?

Mr. FREEMAN. We do not. We service no papers in this country.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have credentials from the New York City Police Department?

Mr. FREEMAN. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. You do. Are they issued to all your reporters, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. As a routine measure?

Mr. FREEMAN. As a routine, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You may stand aside, sir.

Call your next witness.

Mr. RAND. Is Mr. Freeman excused?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, he is excused.

Mr. RAND. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Hays Jones.

Mr. RAND. May we have the same ruling, Senator, with respect to the cameras for Mr. Jones?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Gentlemen, I was not present. You do not want the lights on; is that it?

Mr. RAND. We do not want the lights. And if there are photographs to be taken, may we have them taken in the beginning and not during the testimony?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. I think that is all right.

Mr. RAND. May we have the lights off?

The CHAIRMAN. Turn the lights off, please.

Mr. RAND. The committee apparently has little power over the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Turn it off.

A VOICE. It is on you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Turn the light off.

A VOICE. Off of you, too?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, you can turn it off.

Stand up, sir.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JONES. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HAYS JONES, NEW YORK, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY HARRY I. RAND, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. RAND. Will you take them and then——

The CHAIRMAN. Just wait a minute, sir. I will give the orders.

Mr. RAND. I am sorry, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Take your pictures, gentlemen.

A VOICE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Now proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter, Mr. Jones?

Mr. JONES. My name is Hays Jones; address, 33 West 76th Street, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your occupation, Mr. Jones?

Mr. JONES. Journalist.

Mr. MORRIS. And where do you work?

Mr. JONES. For Tass News Agency.

Mr. MORRIS. And what do you do at the Tass News Agency?

Mr. JONES. I work in the commercial department and occasionally put in a shift in the news department, because of the requirement there.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been working for Tass?

Mr. JONES. Approximately 12 years.

Mr. MORRIS. What has been the nature of your work at Tass?

Mr. JONES. We send information on prices and send in commercial and industrial statistics, the condition of the market in various commodities, especially the grains and furs and hides and things like

bristles, hog bristles, to make paint brushes out of, that is, and other things like that.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a journalist before you were employed by Tass?

Mr. JONES. I had various occupations. I used to write occasionally. And I worked on certain other publications. I worked on the National Maritime Union Pilot for a while.

Mr. MORRIS. But the question is, Mr. Jones, Were you a newspaperman, a journalist, or did you have some other occupation at the time of your first employment with Tass?

Mr. JONES. When I was first employed by Tass, I was working as a seaman on a ship.

Mr. MORRIS. You went from the job as a seaman on a ship to Tass; is that right?

Mr. JONES. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity did you go to Tass?

Mr. JONES. I went there on trial.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Mr. JONES. As what they call an editor, which actually is a rewrite man. You see, in the agencies like AP, UP, or Tass, and International, they call the men editors, although actually what they are doing is rewriting stories that come in from other sources, like the newspapers, like an editor on AP may rewrite a story in the Times, the same as we rewrite a story in the Times or from the Tribune, or we collect a story from various sources and put it together.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a Communist at that time?

Mr. JONES. Not while I worked for Tass, no.

You mean a member of the Communist Party?

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. JONES. A member of the Communist Party; is that what you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Not while I worked for Tass.

The CHAIRMAN. When you went to work for Tass, were you a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. JONES. When I worked for Tass, I was not a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. The day before you went to work for Tass, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JONES. I was not a member on that day, either.

The CHAIRMAN. A week before, were you a member?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer on the grounds that the fifth amendment requires that you can't compel a man to testify against himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you withdraw from the Communist Party?

Mr. JONES. Who said I did?

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you the question.

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. In fact, in the executive session testimony, Mr. Jones, did you not say that you were not a member of the Communist Party the day before you worked for the Tass agency—

Mr. JONES. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. But, as to the day before that, you refused to answer on the grounds——

Mr. JONES. That I declined to answer from any time up to the time I worked for Tass.

Mr. MORRIS. That is a different answer from what you have just given Senator Eastland. Senator Eastland asked you if you were a Communist Party member the day before you worked for Tass.

Mr. JONES. Yes. And I testified now, as I testified then, that I was not a member of the Communist Party the day before I went to work in the Tass office.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, I will ask the question, 1 day before that, just 24 hours earlier, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RAND. One day before what, Judge?

Mr. MORRIS. The day before. In other words, 2 days before he worked for Tass.

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you were associated with the Marine Workers Industrial Union; were you not?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do with the Marine Workers Industrial Union?

Mr. JONES. I edited their weekly magazine called the Marine Workers' Voice.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Were you born in the United States, Mr. Jones?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. In what State?

Mr. JONES. Tennessee.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were a seaman in your early days; were you not?

Mr. JONES. I was a seaman for a few years.

Mr. MORRIS. And then what other employment did you have before?

Mr. JONES. Well, I worked in logging camps. I worked in construction camps, carried newspapers to earn a living to go to school on. I worked in a library, to go to school. A lot of different things.

Mr. MORRIS. And then when did you first work for the Marine Workers Industrial Union?

Mr. JONES. I don't remember the date. Some time in 1932, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Were you a Communist at the time?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the Marine Workers Industrial Union was dissolved and the organization was incorporated by the National Maritime Union; was it not?

Mr. JONES. No. That is not true.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what happened?

Mr. JONES. The Marine Workers Industrial Union dissolved, with the recommendation that its members join the International Seamen's

Union, which was at that time under the control of a gentleman named Gus Brown, and another one—I forget the names of the other two: Dave Grange and a couple of more names I can't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. And then how did the National Maritime Union evolve from that?

Mr. JONES. The National Maritime Union started, I think it was, in 1936. It might have been early 1937, with an unorganized strike on board the steamer *California*, I think. The strike was led by Joseph Curran. It was known as a rank-and-file strike. And after that strike was over, there were some negotiations between that group of men, of whom I was not one, and the CIO officials, when the National Maritime Union was organized. I had nothing to do with it at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever act as a courier for the Communist Party?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a man named George Mink?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Alfred Wagenknecht?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever tell Alfred Wagenknecht, who was a member of the State committee of the Communist Party of Illinois, that you had enough dynamite available to blow up ships?

Mr. JONES. I never had a hand on a stick of dynamite in my life.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever tell him you had it available?

Mr. JONES. No.

Mr. MORRIS. So you deny that?

Mr. JONES. Absolutely and flatly. I deny that I ever did any sabotage in my life.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Harry Bridges— Do you know Harry Bridges?

Mr. JONES. I met him once.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you meet him?

Mr. JONES. I think it was in Chicago.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the occasion?

Mr. JONES. He came through there to a meeting—I forget—they had an organizer up there, and he came through town to see his organizer, and I just happened to meet him.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you on May 29, 1941, attend a meeting of the Chicago Workers' School in room 207, 231 South Wells Street, Chicago?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you report that there were at that time 362 Communist Party members on Great Lakes ships?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you say there were 17,000 pieces of literature handed out on How to Prepare for an Emergency?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. And also on how to get together "When orders for action came"?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a luncheon for Phil Bart at the Sherman Hotel in Chicago on May 11, 1943?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you written, Mr. Jones, a pamphlet called Seamen and Longshoremen Under the Red Flag?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give this to the witness, please?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read that pamphlet for us, read the face of that pamphlet. Just read the pamphlet, the face of the pamphlet, Mr. Jones.

Mr. JONES. What?

Mr. MORRIS. Just read the face of the pamphlet.

Mr. JONES. You mean this page?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; everything on the page.

Mr. JONES. Yes.

In a Soviet America; seamen and longshoremen under the red flag.

Then there are two 36's on it, in handwriting, "By Hays Jones," and then "5 cents."

Mr. MORRIS. Did you write that pamphlet?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you read the last paragraph in that pamphlet?

Mr. JONES. The last paragraph says, "Join the Communist Party."

Mr. MORRIS. The last full paragraph, Mr. Jones.

Mr. JONES. That is a full paragraph. It is spaced off by itself. You mean the one before that?

The CHAIRMAN. Read the next one, sir.

Mr. JONES (reading):

The Communist Party needs the American workers today. In spite of the mob hysteria and violence and dirt stirred up against the Communists, the Communist Party will continue to lead the working class in action more and more consciously through unity of all workers to better wages and working conditions, to unemployment and social insurance, to the fight against war and fascism, to a Soviet America.

Join the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that today a true statement, Mr. Jones?

Mr. JONES. I decline to answer it on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a delegate to the Comintern at any time, Mr. Jones?

Mr. JONES. Never.

Mr. MORRIS. Never?

Mr. JONES. Never.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do we have anything that would indicate that Mr. Jones served in that capacity?

Mr. MANDEL. In the International Press Correspondence for October 30, 1928, volume 8, No. 76, is a speech by Comrade Jones representing the United States before the Communist International.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if the reporter would show that to the witness, please.

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. MORRIS. Was that your speech, Mr. Jones?

Mr. JONES. My speech? No.

Mr. MORRIS. It was not?

Mr. JONES. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you.

Mr. JONES. Jones is a relatively common name. It might be Jesse Jones talking, as well as me.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Mr. Jones.

I have no more questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may stand aside. You are released from your subpoena.

Mr. RAND. Is Mr. Jones excused.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. You are excused.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the next witness?

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Lurie, will you come forward, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you stand up, ma'am.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. LURIE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Just let them get their pictures.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. SASHA SMALL LURIE, NEW YORK, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY HARRY I. RAND, HER ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Lurie, I will be very brief. Will you give your name and address to the reporter.

Mrs. LURIE. Sasha Small Lurie, 345 Bleeker Street.

The CHAIRMAN. I cannot hear you, ma'am. Will you talk into the microphone.

Mrs. LURIE. I am sorry. I am not accustomed to talking.

Shall I repeat the whole thing?

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon?

Mrs. LURIE. Shall I repeat the whole thing?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; please do.

Mrs. LURIE. Sasha Small Lurie, 345 Bleeker Street, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you an American citizen?

The CHAIRMAN. Hold the mike up, please.

Mr. RAND. Senator, may I inquire whether these cameras which are pointed toward us are now operating?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know. You did not object to it.

Mr. RAND. I did, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. No, sir. You objected to the light.

Mr. RAND. I also, before the Senator came in, objected to the cameras——

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down, sir.

Mr. RAND. I am sorry.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down, sir. You are here to confer with the witness.

Now, gentlemen, he objects to taking pictures. So you will have to desist.

Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Lurie, are you employed by Tass News Agency now?

Mrs. LURIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you work in the New York office?

Mrs. LURIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your job there?

Mrs. LURIE. My title is editor. I can best answer that question by describing a typical morning's work.

Mr. MORRIS. Please do.

Mrs. LURIE. I read all the New York City daily newspapers and, in addition to that, several Chicago newspapers, several Washington newspapers, and some out-of-town papers, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the San Francisco Chronicle, the Des Moines Register. Those are typical on any typical day. In addition to that I read a large number of magazines on the day that they happen to come in—weekly magazines or monthly, as the case may be—everything from the United States News and World Report, Business Week and Time, and Life, Harper's, Atlantic, Foreign Affairs, et cetera.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you make digests of what you read?

Mrs. LURIE. If it is something newsworthy, I will make a digest of it, and write it in the form of a cable.

Mr. MORRIS. And then do you actually send it yourself, or does someone in the agency send it?

Mrs. LURIE. No. I will then turn it over to the editor in charge, who is usually——

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any guide to determine what is newsworthy?

Mrs. LURIE. Well, after 11 years, you begin to get the feel of what is newsworthy.

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, is it from the Soviet point of view, or is it——

Mrs. LURIE. Oh, no. It is from the point of view of what is news in the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. And you just transmit it straight——

Mrs. LURIE. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing). To the Soviet Union?

Mrs. LURIE. That is right. And if we ever make a mistake in a quotation, we very quickly send a correction.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mrs. Lurie, you were born Sasha Small? Your name was Sasha Small when you were born?

Mrs. LURIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And where were you born?

Mrs. LURIE. In Montreal, Canada.

Mr. MORRIS. And you became an American citizen by virtue of your parents' naturalization?

Mrs. LURIE. My father's naturalization.

Mr. MORRIS. At the age of 10, were you?

Mrs. LURIE. I was 10 when we came here.

Mr. MORRIS. Ten when you came here?

Mrs. LURIE. Yes. I believe I was 15 when my father became a citizen.

Mr. MORRIS. You were educated at Columbia University?

Mrs. LURIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do when you left Columbia University?

Mrs. LURIE. For a while I gave music lessons.

Mr. MORRIS. You gave music lessons. Then what did you do?

Mrs. LURIE. I went to work for a publication, the Labor Defender, of which I subsequently became the editor.

Mr. MORRIS. That was in 1938 or 1939?

Mrs. LURIE. Well, I went in 1932, or thereabouts—I am not absolutely sure of the date—and the Labor Defender went out of existence about 1938 or 1939. I don't exactly remember. And it was succeeded by a publication called Equal Justice, which I continued on.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was the Labor Defender the official journal of the International Labor Defense.

Mrs. LURIE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Equal Justice succeeded to all the files and the records of Labor Defender?

Mrs. LURIE. I think so.

Mr. MORRIS. And you served with Equal Justice for what period?

Mrs. LURIE. Until sometime in 1942. I don't remember exactly. Sometime in the fall of 1942.

Mr. MORRIS. And then what did you do?

Just wait a minute, Mrs. Lurie.

Mrs. LURIE. I am sorry.

Mr. MORRIS. Just wait until that is over.

All right.

Mr. RAND. What was the question?

Mr. MORRIS. After you left Equal Justice, in 1942, what was your next job?

Mrs. LURIE. My next job was in the spring of 1943, with a committee that was raising money for the war orphans of Stalingrad.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you work for that committee?

Mrs. LURIE. Until late in 1944. I don't remember exactly.

Mr. MORRIS. Was this a paid job?

Mrs. LURIE. Oh, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was the office of that organization?

Mrs. LURIE. It was on Madison Avenue.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not remember where?

Mrs. LURIE. I will remember in a minute. It was at 41st Street and Madison. I think the number was 485. Then it moved to Park Avenue. And I think the number on Park Avenue was 103, but I am not sure.

Mr. MORRIS. Who ran that office, Mrs. Lurie?

Mrs. LURIE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Who ran that office?

Mrs. LURIE. I don't understand what you mean, who ran it.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, who was the manager of the office?

Mrs. LURIE. There was a Mr. Budisch.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mrs. LURIE. Budisch.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that?

Mrs. LURIE. I am not sure. I believe it is B-u-d-i-s-c-h.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was he an American citizen?

Mrs. LURIE. As far as I know, he was.

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, even though it was a committee to aid war orphans in Stalingrad, it was strictly an American committee?

Mrs. LURIE. Oh, it most assuredly was. George Gordon Battle was the chairman of it; W. W. Cohn was the president.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mrs. Lurie, what was your next job after that?

Mrs. LURIE. Tass.

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon?

Mrs. LURIE. I went to work with Tass.

Mr. MORRIS. Right directly with Tass. Now, the day before you worked for Tass were you a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness consults with her counsel.)

Mrs. LURIE. I decline to answer that question under my rights—invoking my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party the day after you worked for Tass?

Mrs. LURIE. No.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have not been since?

Mrs. LURIE. I have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you worked for the Labor Defender in 1932?

Mrs. LURIE. I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were the editor of Labor Defender in 1938 or 1939?

Mrs. LURIE. I must decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist when you worked for Equal Justice?

Mrs. LURIE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist when you worked for the Committee for War Orphans in Stalingrad?

Mrs. LURIE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Lurie, we asked you the other day if you can recall having written an article for the International Press Correspondence in Moscow.

Mrs. LURIE. And I told you I didn't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. May I offer these two articles by a woman described here as Sasha Small, New York. I ask you if you will look at that and see if that will refresh your recollection. There are two articles there, Mrs. Lurie.

Mrs. LURIE. I am quite sure I did not contribute these articles to the International Press Correspondence.

Mr. MORRIS. You are quite sure you did not?

Mrs. LURIE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Nonetheless, Mr. Chairman, may they go in the record at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The articles referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 2 and Exhibit No. 2-A" and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 2

[From International Press Correspondence, vol. 26, pp. 686, 687 April 27, 1935]

CANADIAN LABOUR DEFENCE VICTORY

By Sasha Small (New York)

The Canadian Labour Defence League has recently won a very great victory against the forces of ruling-class justice. Not satisfied with their infamous section 98, which made the crushing of the Canadian Communist Party possible, which was responsible for sending eight of the leaders of the Canadian working class to Kingston Penitentiary, the Canadian ruling class, vassals of British

imperialism, tried to behead the militant defence movement by charging the national secretary of the C. L. D. L., A. E. Smith, with "sedition."

But the 43,000 members of the C. L. D. L. immediately swung into action, a huge wave of mass protest swept the country. Wm. L. Patterson, national secretary of the American I. L. D., went to Canada to speak at a mass protest demonstration pledging international solidarity, but was deported from the Canadian border. The American I. L. D. also sent one of its leading attorneys, Leo Gallagher, just returned from a European tour in behalf of the Reichstag trial defendants.

The protest meeting at which Patterson was scheduled to speak was an overflow meeting. More than 2,000 workers were turned away, and these assembled sent the following protest resolution to the imperialist Bennett:—

"We view this act as another instance of the attempt of the governmental authorities to prevent organisation of defence in the Smith trial. We demand that the order of deportation against Comrade Patterson be rescinded, and that he be permitted to enter this country any time he or the labour organisations deem it advisable."

The same determination to hamper the defence was shown when the immigration authorities attempted to turn Gallagher back from the border on the ground that his entry would violate the "contract labour" clause in the immigration law. But Gallagher was admitted. And the jury was forced to bring in a verdict of "not guilty."

A. E. Smith was charged with "uttering seditious words." The seditious words in question were uttered on November 17, 1933, when a delegation, elected by the Eastern Canada Congress for Repeal of Section 98, went to Ottawa to lay its demands before Premier Bennett. Among the demands were cancellation of the deportation of Tom Cacic to fascist Yugoslavia, recognition of political prisoners and improved treatment, investigation into Kingston prison by a delegation from the Congress and indictment of those responsible for the attempt on Tim Buck's life. When Smith introduced the delegation he said: "Our language may not be diplomatic, but it is the language of the working class." Mr. Bennett grew very angry. While the delegation was speaking, Mr. Bennett pointed at Smith and said: "I don't want to hear from you. Show him out. An agitator who stands behind other people and saves his own skin." The delegation was thrown out.

In all these charges of sedition, the Government never for one moment denied that Tim Buck was fired at in his prison cell at Kingston prison on October 20, 1932. Last July, when Tim Buck was on trial charged with being responsible for the riot in Kingston Penitentiary, he shouted at one of the crown witnesses—a prison guard: "Mr. Henderson, were you one of the men who attempted to murder me in my cell?" It was not denied.

Preparation was made beforehand to prevent the truth of the attempt on Buck's life to be brought into Smith's defence.

The C. L. D. L. sharply put the issues involved before the Canadian masses. It showed in the leaflets and resolutions it issued that the issue at stake was the endangered life of working-class leaders in jail.

The Bennett government made no attempt to disprove its responsibility. It made only the attempt to railroad A. E. Smith to jail, where they already hold Tim Buck, Tom Ewell, Tom Cacic, Malcolm Bruce, Sam Carr, John Boychuk, Matthew Popovich, Tim Hill. The Bennett government wanted only to break the mighty defense organization of the Canadian working class—an organization which has carried through several nationwide defense congresses demanding the repeal of the hateful and notorious section 98; which has collected 459,000 endorsements of the repeal campaign, including 118 trade-union locals; which handled some 1,000 arrests in the year 1933, the greatest majority of which resulted in victory for the C. L. D. L.; which issued 5,000,000 leaflets in the Tim Buck case alone. Taking only one example of its work, given in the report at its first representative national convention, it is easy to see why the Bennett government should be especially determined to crush this militant defence organisation:

"Another interesting episode in Vancouver work: We organized national demonstrations throughout the country against the Tim Buck frameup on February 20. The Vancouver D. C. C. responded immediately to the instructions of the N. E. C., arranged demonstrations and held mass meetings in four halls. While the meetings were in session, word came that a whole batch of scabs were being brought through the docks to Vancouver Harbor to go to Anyox, where the strike was on. Word was passed around and the committee got together and very quickly decided that the meeting should disband, go down to the docks

and see that the scabs did not go to Anyox. This was done. A big scrap took place at the docks, a number of police were the worse for the experience, and when the scabs were routed, the workers came back to the halls and finished their meetings. Here you have the real C. L. D. L. participating in strike struggles."

The C. L. D. L. won a great victory in the Smith case. The courtroom was jammed each day of the trial. The judge was loaded with protest telegrams and resolutions from every corner of Canada. A. E. Smith defended himself with the aid of several outstanding attorneys. The C. L. D. L. has correctly estimated this victory. They have shown that it was not due to any imaginary "fairness of capitalist justice," but due to the intense radicalization of the masses, the great mass pressure developed by the C. L. D. L., not only among the workers, but also among sections of the middle class; the beginning of real unity in the ranks of the workers, despite the sabotage of the reformist leaders. They are determined to utilise this victory to strengthen the defence struggle on all fronts, to treble their membership and influence, and to force the release of all class-war prisoners.

EXHIBIT No. 2-A

[From International Press Correspondence, vol. 64, pp. 1723-1724, December 22, 1934]

THE WHITE TERROR

THE SCOTTSBORO CASE BEFORE THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

By Sasha Small (New York)

The Scottsboro case, through the appeals of Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris, is once more before the United States Supreme Court.

On November 7, 1932, this highest court in the land was forced to hand down a decision reversing the original lynch verdict against nine innocent Negro boys in Scottsboro, Ala., in April 1931.

The International Labor Defense, which had entered the defense immediately after the forces of lynch rule in Alabama had heralded their legal murder decision against 8 of the 9 boys, fought for the freedom of the boys every inch of the intricate way through the tangle of legal machinery, accompanied by the development of a nationwide and worldwide mass campaign of defense and support.

By the time the International Labor Defense had carried the appeal to the highest court in the country, the Scottsboro boys had become symbols of frameup and national oppression to millions the world over. Street demonstrations, parades, demands upon American embassies, militant actions had taken place in every major city of the world from Germany to Africa.

The scene of battle was shifted back to Alabama. This time in Decatur. And it was at this second trial that Ruby Bates, one of the girls whose supposed attack had been the cause of the lynch verdict, repudiated her earlier testimony and admitted that she had lied. But Haywood Patterson was sentenced to death a second time. The greatest wave of mass protest yet seen in the Scottsboro case followed this second murder decision. A mass march of 10,000 Negro and white workers converged upon Washington. The volume of protest upon the Alabama courts swelled, and as a result Judge Horton reversed his own decision and sentence, stating clearly that the "evidence preponderated greatly in favor of the defendants" and the case came up for trial in Alabama a third time.

Once more a death sentence for Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris followed. The struggle continued unabated. All appeals were taken, all the necessary motions were made. But the lynchers' agents on the bench of the Alabama State Supreme Court, refusing to release their prey, set December 7, 1934, as the date of execution for the two boys.

And for the second time the International Labor Defense was faced with the task of bringing this case before the United States Supreme Court.

The new obstacle which presented itself was Samuel S. Liebowitz, the trial lawyer engaged by the ILD to conduct the trials in Alabama, in accordance with the ILD policy of securing the best legal talent available for the job at hand. When Mr. Liebowitz was informed that the ILD had succeeded in getting Walter H. Pollak, brilliant constitutional attorney, who had successfully argued the first appeal to the United States Supreme Court, to take the appeal there the second time, he not only announced that he was out of the Scottsboro case, but he proceeded to organize all those elements who had during the 3½ years previous

secretly sabotaged or openly fought the boys' defense into an "American Scottsboro Committee." The ILD had never considered Liebowitz for the Supreme Court appeals since he had never practiced before that Court before, in fact, was admitted only a few weeks ago.

By means of trickery, lies, threats, promises, maneuvers with the lynchers' attorney general, Knight, the prosecutor and spokesman of the most reactionary industrialists and landlords of the State of Alabama, Mr. Liebowitz and his supporters have succeeded in sowing confusion in the minds of many people. By issuing false statements and slanderous attacks on the ILD to the press, getting some woman to impersonate Mother Patterson over the radio, releasing lying telegrams to the Amsterdam News (Negro paper printed in Harlem by Liebowitz' chief supporter, William Davis, an old enemy of the Scottsboro defense), by stating that the ILD collected a quarter of a million dollars in the name of the Scottsboro defense which was squandered in "luxurious living by the Communist officials of the ILD"—Liebowitz is making every effort to hold on to the Scottsboro case which gave him a taste of personal glory and worldwide publicity at the expense of the lives of the Scottsboro boys.

As soon as this vicious obstacle was thrown in the path of the Scottsboro defense the ILD issued a statement clearly explaining its determination to prevent "any controversy which would impair the worldwide struggle, which must be developed to prevent this legal lynching * * * the International Labor Defense repeats its statement that it will continue unabated its struggle for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, and will cooperate fully with anybody and any organization actuated by the purpose of sincerely fighting for the lives and freedom of the Scottsboro boys."

Despite all the disruptive efforts of Liebowitz the ILD is clearly and definitely in charge of the case, leading both the legal defense fight and the mass defense. The appeals, briefs, and writs of certiorari in the cases of Patterson and Norris are in the hands of the Supreme Court, filed by the ILD attorneys, Osmond K. Fraenkel and Walter H. Pollak, and accepted by that Court.

Through the efforts of these attorneys a stay of execution until February 8, 1935, was secured for the boys. Though Liebowitz attempted desperately and by the most despicable maneuvers of his bodyguard agents and reformist ministers to alienate the parents of the boys from the ILD, all the mothers and the aunts of the orphaned boys understand clearly that this is "not a fight between attorneys," but a fight for their boys' lives, and they are solidly behind the International Labor Defense.

The Supreme Court will very shortly announce the date on which the oral argument will be heard if they decide to hear the appeal of the Scottsboro boys. The International Labor Defense, convinced of the correctness of its policy of mass defense, supplemented by the best available legal defense, is not waiting on any legal development, but is mobilizing all its forces, all the true friends of the boys for the struggle. Through its own forces and through the forces of the national and local Scottsboro action committees, organized on a broad united-front basis, efforts are being made to unite the masses, Negro and white in the factories, in the churches, the A. F. of L., unions, fraternal orders, women's groups, into a gigantic mass defense movement.

The International Labor Defense is making every effort to clarify the issues involved in the Scottsboro case, to show the sharpening of the class lines, to show the toiling masses how Scottsboro has become the spearhead of the intensifying terror drive against the southern working-class Negro and white, and how it must become the rallying point for all those who are ready to join the struggle not only in defense of nine innocent Negro children but in the struggle in defense of the constitutional rights of the Negro people, in the struggle against the rising tide of fascism in the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Lurie, I ask you if you will look at this pamphlet called *Women in Action*, by Sasha Small.

I ask you if you wrote that pamphlet.

Mrs. LURIE. I must decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. You will not answer that question. I wonder if you would read— Who published that particular journal? Does it say on the journal? I am not asking you to invoke your own knowledge of the situation, but I am asking you if the pamphlet indicates who published it.

Mrs. LURIE. It says here, "Published by Workers Library Publishing, Post Office Box 148, Station D, New York City, February, 1935."

Mr. MORRIS. And will you read the last paragraph?

Mrs. LURIE (reading):

And we have one force of guidance and leadership that those who came along before us did not have to coordinate their activities, to direct their heroism and their energies towards—

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry. I cannot understand you, Mrs. Lurie. A little more clearly.

Mrs. LURIE. I am sorry.

[Continuing:]

did not have to coordinate their activities, to direct their heroism, and their energies towards the accomplishment of our final aim—complete freedom for the whole working class. And that force is the Communist Party in whose ranks thousands of women are already working daily. The Communist Party is the only party which fights for equal rights for women, equal pay for equal work, social insurance, all the everyday needs of workingwomen, farm women, housewives of every nationality and color. It is the only party that carries on the traditions of struggle, that leads the struggle towards a system of society where strikes and picket lines will not be needed, where hunger and misery will be impossible, where children will be assured of healthy, happy lives. Women of America, join the Communist Party and march shoulder to shoulder with all the toiling masses towards a Soviet America.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you write that paragraph?

Mrs. LURIE. I decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. On what ground, ma'am?

Mrs. LURIE. My privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. I have one more pamphlet here: Ten Years of Labor Defense, by Sasha Small, published by the International Labor Defense. I ask you if you wrote that, Mrs. Lurie.

Mrs. LURIE. Yes; I wrote this.

Mr. MORRIS. You did write it?

All right. May that go in the record, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. It may go in the record.

Mr. MORRIS. By reference. The reporter will not type it in.

(The pamphlet will be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Lurie, do you have press credentials from the New York City police?

Mrs. LURIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You may stand aside. You are released from the subpoena.

We will recess now until 10:30 o'clock Thursday morning.

Mr. MORRIS. You are excused, Mrs. Lurie.

Mrs. LURIE. Thank you.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 noon, the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene on Thursday, February 23, 1956, at 10:30 a. m.)

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

**SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS**

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

**SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES**

FEBRUARY 23, 1956

PART 3

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m., in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator Herman Welker presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland (chairman of the subcommittee), Welker, and Butler.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; and Robert C. McManus, investigations analyst.

Senator WELKER. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ege, will you take the stand, please?

Senator WELKER. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give before the subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. EGE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ISMAIL EGE

Senator WELKER. Will you state your name, your residence, and occupation?

Mr. EGE. My full name is Ismail Ege.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you reside here in Washington, Mr. Ege?

Mr. EGE. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, this witness has appeared before this committee at an earlier date. However, he is being asked to testify here today on the nature of Tass News Agency, and he is being asked to testify for that limited purpose.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

I take it that counsel is pursuing the hearings today which relate to the activities of Tass News Agency. Tass is one of the Soviet agencies in the United States which is now under consideration by the subcommittee. The subcommittee is seeking to determine to what extent Soviet power operates here through organizations other than the Communist Party of the United States.

With that background, counsel, you may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ege, where were you born?

Mr. EGE. I was born in the city which is called Orsk. That is in the Ural district of Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. And what was your name when you were born?

Mr. EGE. My name was Ismail Gusseyonovich Akhmedov.

Mr. MORRIS. And that is the name under which you lived up until the time that you assumed the name of Ege after you came to the United States?

Mr. EGE. Akhmedov is the name I lived under until I was sent as vice president of Tass to Germany. When I was sent to Berlin in 1941, at the end of May, as vice president of Tass, my name was changed, and I will come to it later when I explain my activities in Germany.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. But the purpose of my question, Mr. Ege, was to indicate that your real name, the name with which you were born, was Mr. Akhmedov?

Mr. EGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And the name Ege is a name that you have assumed since you have come to the United States?

Mr. EGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, I wonder if you would give us a short sketch of your education.

Mr. EGE. Good. In 1940, in September, being a graduate of the war college of general staff of the Red army, I was appointed to the intelligence department of the Red army, general staff of the Soviet Army.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year was that?

Mr. EGE. It was September 1940.

Mr. MORRIS. 1940?

Mr. EGE. 1940, yes.

Senator WELKER. Did I understand you, Mr. Witness, to say that in September 1940, after your graduation from the war college of the Red army, you were appointed then to the intelligence organization of the Red army. Is that correct?

Mr. EGE. That is correct, sir.

Senator WELKER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us what positions you held in intelligence in the Red army in 1940 up to the time of your defection in 1942?

Mr. EGE. In 1940, in September, when I was appointed to the intelligence department of the general staff of Red army, I was appointed at first as deputy chief for the first section of the intelligence department.

Mr. MORRIS. The first section?

Mr. EGE. I am sorry. The fourth section.

Mr. MORRIS. The fourth section.

Mr. EGE. Which was one of agents operations sections.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us what the function of the fourth section of the Red intelligence service was?

Mr. EGE. The fourth section was charged with procuring data on technical devices having military significance in the foreign armies, and in the technological field and scientific fields with all discoveries and devices having potential military significance.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was your rank at that time, Mr. Ege?

Mr. EGE. At that time my rank was major of general staff.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were head of this fourth section; is that right?

Mr. EGE. Later on, when chief of the fourth section was missioned to Germany, I was appointed chief of fourth section.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, in addition to that particular role in the military intelligence, did you have any other military roles prior to that time?

Mr. EGE. I can't understand, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have any military assignment prior to 1940?

Mr. EGE. I did. In order to be appointed in 1940 to the military intelligence department, I had to have excellent background in intelligence, in practical and field experience in the Red Army.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us briefly about that, Mr. Ege?

Mr. EGE. I entered the Red army in 1925, when I was sent by the central committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party to Leningrad to enter Leningrad School of Military Communications. In Russian it is called Leningradskaya Voennaya Shkola Svyazi.

In 1929, I was graduated from the military school of communications with the rank of lieutenant and was appointed to field services in Caucasia, to the Caucasian Red Banners Army.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that an intelligence assignment?

Mr. EGE. No. It was a field assignment. I was lieutenant in the 11th Radio Battalion of the Caucasian Army.

Mr. MORRIS. But it was not an intelligence assignment?

Mr. EGE. After a few months of service in this battalion, I was selected, because of my knowledge of Turkish, and to some extent of German, languages, to the intelligence section of the Caucasian Army. That was in 1930. And from that day, I began to work for Soviet military intelligence.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Now, how many years, therefore, of military experience have you had with the Red army, including your intelligence as well as your nonintelligence work?

Mr. EGE. My experience with the Red army was uninterruptedly from 1925 until 1942, June 3, when I broke with Soviet Government and Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you had 17 years' experience with the Red army?

Mr. EGE. Seventeen years of uninterrupted service beginning in the field and ending with the central apparatus of the Red army in Moscow.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Ege, since you covered the point in testimony, Senator Eastland has appeared. I wonder if you will tell him what your assignment was with the fourth section of military intelligence.

Mr. EGE. With the fourth section of the military intelligence department of general staff, my assignment was at first as deputy chief and after a few months as chief of fourth section.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was the purpose of that particular section?

Mr. EGE. The function of the fourth section was procurement, by means of espionage, of technical data on foreign armies. By "technical," I mean technical devices for military use.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Ege, when did you first work for Tass News Agency?

Mr. EGE. For Tass? You mean, when I came personally into contact with Tass? Is that the question you are asking?

Senator WELKER. Will you read the question back?

Mr. MORRIS. Read the question back.

(The question was read.)

Mr. EGE. In May 1941, when I was appointed to field intelligence in Germany.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, had you heard of Tass New Agency before that time?

Mr. EGE. Many times. Being an intelligence officer working in the army and later in the army general staff, I knew, from my experience and from my contact with high-rank Soviet officials working in the intelligence department and in the intelligence of NKVD, that Tass was used as cover many times, as any other Soviet office.

Mr. MORRIS. You say it was used as a cover for what, Mr. Ege?

Mr. EGE. Intelligence activities.

Mr. MORRIS. Intelligence activities of which branch? Military intelligence or of other intelligence branches of the Soviet Union?

Mr. EGE. It was used as a cover, not only for military intelligence, but for all intelligence agencies of the Soviet Union.

Senator WELKER. That is military, political, and everything else that they needed?

Mr. EGE. When I am talking about intelligence agencies of the Soviet Union, I mean two main branches of intelligence.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us briefly what they are, Mr. Ege?

Mr. EGE. One is called—it was called RU—Razvedyvatel'noye Upravlenyie, which is intelligence. This is military intelligence, conducted by general staff. And there is second main branch of Soviet intelligence system, which is conducted by Soviet secret police.

Mr. MORRIS. That is generally referred to as the MVD, is it not?

Mr. EGE. That was referred to as MVD. It was called sometimes NKVD, Cheka, and so on. But the important thing is that Soviet secret police, in the perfect Soviet police state, as was Soviet Union of Stalin, was conducting intelligence in a more extensive and military intelligence and espionage all over the world.

Mr. MORRIS. You say the NKVD was more extensive than the military intelligence?

Mr. EGE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was the military intelligence the service in which you performed? You worked under the military intelligence, did you not?

Mr. EGE. I worked under military intelligence.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were there any subdivisions of military intelligence?

Mr. EGE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what they were?

Mr. EGE. May I proceed to the blackboard and show, in a rough form, without too much details?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; I wish you would, Mr. Ege.

Mr. EGE. I would like to show roughly that the Soviet Union intelligence system consists in main of two branches. One was military intelligence, conducted from general staff of the Red army, and second was intelligence conducted by Soviet secret police, which

was referred to by many names, as MVD, NKVD, OGPU, Cheka, and so on, and which is called now KGB.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Witness, will you mark the figure "1" military intelligence?

Mr. EGE. I will mark it "Military", "RU", using Russian abbreviations.

Senator WELKER. Very well. And will you mark the other one?

Mr. EGE. And this one was foreign division of MVD.

While I am putting "Foreign division," I want to make it clear that the function of the Soviet secret police is counterintelligence. But besides counterintelligence, it is used to conduct intelligence, special military and political intelligence, and that was conducted from the foreign division or foreign department of MVD.

Now, RU, in its own turn, consisted of two main branches. The first branch was agents, the branch charged with agent operations. This is espionage, the organization of espionage. And the second was information branch, which was charged with evaluation, dissemination, and analysis of procured espionage data, in order to present all this data to proper interested branches of the Soviet Government.

So information branch was storehouse of facts, of all data. It, by the way, disseminated all data procured by agent operations section.

The first branch consists in main, as of May 1941, of seven sections or divisions. In Russian terms, they were called Otdely. There were seven agent sections, first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh.

Mr. MORRIS. In which one did you serve at the beginning?

Mr. EGE. I served in——

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would make those blocks a little larger and designate them; would you, Mr. Ege?

Mr. EGE. I will.

Here are, in block diagrams, shown seven agent operations sections of the military intelligence department as to the end of May 1941. The first section was charged by organization of military espionage in Europe, in Central Europe and in England, the United Kingdom.

The second section was charged with organization of military intelligence in Turkey, Middle East, and Balkan countries like Bulgaria and Rumania.

The third section was charged with organization of military espionage in United States and China, Japan, and Canada.

Mr. MORRIS. The third, you say?

Mr. EGE. Yes. And the fourth section was charged with organization of espionage in first-class, technically advanced countries all over the world, like United States, United Kingdom, Germany, France, so on.

Mr. MORRIS. Whereas the third one was only jurisdictional; the fourth one is somewhat functional; is that right? The division?

Mr. EGE. The third was charged with organization of purely military intelligence, like procurement of data on location of troops, their training, their equipment, their number, and military plans for war. But the fourth was pure technical interest, on technological development of countries.

The fifth division, or fifth section, was charged with organization of terroristic acts, kidnappings, and organization of strikes, uprising. It was very active section, for organization of violent acts.

The sixth section was charged with publication of false passports, or procurement of real passports, like birth certificates from United States, or passports of Americans which took part in Spain and so on, and it was charged, too, with financial problems, like making false money or procurement of necessary foreign currency, and so on. And it was charged, besides that, with introducing and development into intelligence practice of microfilm and the other devices used for communications between central headquarters and the local branches for legal and illegal networks in foreign countries.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Ege, does each one of these subsections of military intelligence operate espionage rings, therefore, all over the world? Does each one of these subsections have its own ring?

Mr. EGE. These were not subsections. These were sections.

Mr. MORRIS. Sections.

Mr. EGE. And each one was available, outside of Soviet Union, in foreign countries. For that reason they are called agent operation sections.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. But did each section have its own——

Mr. EGE. Each section had its own legal and illegal network in foreign countries.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Mr. EGE. For instance, first section had in England, in France, in Germany, in Spain, in Italy, and so on, its illegal and legal apparatus. What I meant by "legal" and "illegal," I will come to later, if I be asked.

Now, the second section works in Middle East and in Balkan countries, the third acts, as I designate, in United States, Canada, China and Japan.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Ege, does the naval intelligence have a separate breakup?

Mr. EGE. About naval intelligence, in 1941 naval intelligence was separated, which does not mean that it was always separated, from the intelligence department of the Red army. There were times when naval intelligence was a part of the military intelligence and there were times when it was separated. In 1940 and 1941, naval intelligence existed separately. It is quite possible that it now works together with RU as one body.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in addition, Mr. Ege, the MVD also had its own network and its own series of espionage rings, did it not?

Mr. EGE. Now, here, MVD had its own networks all throughout the world, in all countries.

Mr. MORRIS. Go ahead.

Mr. EGE. So NKVD, or MVD, had its own illegal and legal networks throughout the world.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in addition to that, the central committee of the Communist Party, or the old Comintern, also had its individual networks, did it not, Mr. Ege?

Mr. EGE. That is a little complicated business. Of course, Comintern had its own network, but Comintern had contact with RU and foreign division of MVD, and they were coordinated by the central committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union. So we cannot say that the Comintern was Soviet agency. It was Comintern, but Comintern, being devised in the hands of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, was used extensively for espionage activity.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, Mr. Ege, you worked in the fourth section of military intelligence, did you not?

Mr. EGE. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. And as such, you learned in 1940—was that the first time or was it earlier—that Tass was a cover for intelligence? When did you learn that?

Mr. EGE. I learned that Tass, and not only Tass, that all Soviet institutions acting abroad, like Soviet Embassies, consulates, trade missions, and so on, were used as cover for Soviet espionage in 1930 and later on, all the time I was working for intelligence department. So it did not come to me in 1940, when I was appointed to the central apparatus of the intelligence of the Soviet Army—it did not come to me as a surprise that Tass was used. I knew it already.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, Mr. Ege, how many assignments did you have under the cover of a Tass correspondent?

Mr. EGE. Me?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, you personally.

Mr. EGE. In person—may I sit down?

Mr. MORRIS. You may, of course, Mr. Ege.

Mr. EGE. In person I came into contact with Tass in 1941, in the end of May 1941, when it was decided, by the high command of the Red army's intelligence department, to send me to Germany for intelligence mission.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us about that in detail, telling us all the details of the particular assignment you had for Tass News Agency?

Mr. EGE. It was quite natural that, being an intelligence officer, I had to have some covering orders to work in Germany. So——

Mr. MORRIS. Your rank at the time was major in military intelligence?

Mr. EGE. Major of general staff.

Mr. MORRIS. And then you had an assignment to go to Germany, and it was decided that you were to operate under the cover of Tass News Agency; is that right, Mr. Ege?

Mr. EGE. It was decided that my cover would be Tass.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Will you tell us how you operated?

Mr. EGE. I would like to tell it in more detail, because many people do not understand how this is done.

When it was decided that I go to Germany, it was found at first cover for me, and as cover, it was decided to use Tass Agency. And I was appointed in the end of May 1941, as vice president of Tass Bureau in Berlin. Now, it is——

Mr. MORRIS. Did you use your own name at that time?

Mr. EGE. When I was working for Tass——

Mr. MORRIS. When you worked for Tass.

Mr. EGE. I could not use it, because I could not go to Germany as Ismail Akhmedov, major of general staff and chief of fourth section. If I would be sent under this name, and with my rank, to Germany to conduct intelligence operations, there would be no field to work, because that person—that is me—will be under Gestapo surveillance, and there would be no chance to work.

So, when it was decided that I go as vice president of Tass, it was necessary to change that about my individual data. I worked out,

under order of chief, intelligence department, so-called legenda, which means the cover story.

My real name, as I said, was Ismail Akhmedov. It was necessary, the first thing, to change this name. So I was given the name of Georgi Petrovich Nikolayev.

Why I was given Georgi Petrovich Nikolayev and not another name—for instance, I could take Ibrailimov, for instance, or Steinberg or Weissman—when I was given cover. To choose name of Ibrahimov, because I am of Turkish blood, I was told by chief of intelligence department that if I take the name of Turkish blood, Germans would consider me as Asiatic, and they would have a little respect for me. And besides that, I was told that being Russian is nowadays a very good thing. Anti-Semitism was just originating in those nations of the Soviet Union. I was not permitted to take Jewish name like Weissman or Steinberg. I was told by the deputy chief of the military intelligence that Jews are from now on disgrace and Jews can't be trusted with responsible jobs. And that was said by the deputy chief of military intelligence, by Major General Panfilov, who was before that commissar of tank department, and a very responsible Communist.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that during the Hitler-Stalin pact?

Mr. EGE. Yes. And if he would make that statement 2 years before that day—I mean, 2 years before 1941, he would be out of the party for anti-Semitism. But in 1941, when pact was between Germany of Hitler and Soviet Union of Stalin, anti-Semitism was already in fashion. So I became Nikolayev, now.

Now, every person who enters some government service has in a natural way to fill out papers, forms for government. And I had to fill these forms out to give my background, where I have been educated, who were my parents, where I was living, when I was born, and where I was born.

The time of when I was born I gave correct, because there was no sense to change it. But the place where I was born was changed. I was born in Orsk, as I stated here, which is in Ural. In my cover story I became born in Tbilisi, which is Georgia. That is, Nikolayev, Georgi Petrovich.

Now, in reality, I was graduated from war college of general staff and before that from some other colleges. For Tass clearance I was educated from the Institute of Journalism in Tbilisi.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you put on all your papers that you were a graduate of the journalism school?

Mr. EGE. All data was changed about my life and about my background, in order not only to conceal it before German authorities, but before Soviet citizens, and from other Tass personnel who were working, that in reality I was general staff officer working for intelligence department.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you even had to deceive the fellow Tass people?

Mr. EGE. Yes, I had to. But these Tass people had no right to understand that I was military intelligence officer. Only one person in Tass knew that I was Akhmedov, chief of the fourth section of intelligence department, and that person was Khavinson, who was director of Tass in 1941. And according to all this data, when my personality was changed, and I was given nonexistent data about myself, with this form I went to Tass, and all these papers were sent

to the section of Tass which is called secret section (in charge of personnel) and deals with personnel. And I was given a little card of Tass stating that I am vice president of Tass in Berlin, and that card would give me access to all press conferences and people dealing with press. And I was given Soviet passport under the name of Nikolayev, Georgi Petrovich, serving as vice president of Tass.

I was, by order of chief of general staff of Red army, taken to reserve of Red army officers, and, after getting the necessary visa and so on, I came to Berlin as Nikolayev, Georgi Petrovich, vice president of Tass.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how long did you stay there on that assignment?

Mr. EGE. I stayed in Berlin until about 3 weeks, for war started in the second half of June. It was 24 June perhaps, 1941. I was arrested by Germans.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us, while you were there, while you were serving as a Tass correspondent, precisely how you operated as a military intelligence officer, and tell us generally how Tass operated?

Mr. EGE. In 1941, at the end of May and the first 2 weeks of June, Tass bureau in Berlin consisted of few people. There was a man called Tarasov. He was president of Tass in Berlin. There was Sergei Kudryavtsev. He was Tass correspondent. There was Verkhovtsev, who was Tass correspondent, and there was one correspondent of Tass who came to Germany 2 weeks before me. I don't remember his name. Put his name just "X."

Now, Tarasov, who was president of Tass—his real name was Udin, of Jewish origin, and he was working of NKVD, or MVD, as we accept it here. I know it exactly because, when I left Moscow for Germany, I was told—I was informed briefly—who was working in Tass and in what capacity besides being Tass correspondents. So I was briefed by the deputy director of intelligence department who, as I stated, was Major General Panfilov, that Tarasov is working for neighbors. Under neighbors in Russian Sosed'y, they refer to NKVD apparatus, or NKVD refers to RU.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what kind of information did they want you to get in Germany?

Mr. EGE. If you would permit, I want to finish first the Tass side.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. EGE. So I was told, or briefed, that Tarasov was president of Tass, and working for NKVD, as resident. Sergei Kudryavtsev was working in intelligence from the time I came to the intelligence department. So I knew him from his dossier, from the files, that he was one of the agents of fourth section working under Tass cover. Verkhovtsev, I didn't know it exactly, but I was told that he was working for NKVD, and that has to be true, for he was special protege of Dekanozov.

Mr. MORRIS. Special protege of whom?

Mr. EGE. Protege of Dekanozov, Ambassador of Stalin in Berlin in 1946.

As for Mr. X, he was sent under Tass cover by fourth section. So as you see, all apparatus of Tass, starting from president—and here I was, Nikolayev, vice president—all apparatus of Tass was used by intelligence agencies of Soviet Union as a cover. And there is no wonder about that, because it is known very well, and I think that the

Government of the Soviet Union can accept it. It is a big power. They need espionage. And espionage agents need cover, because they have to work.

Now, I was asked what kind of information we were procuring? Is that right?

Mr. MORRIS. That is right. The chairman wants to know what kind of information you were getting.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of information he was to secure.

Mr. MORRIS. What kind of information you were to secure.

Mr. EGE. We were ordered to get information on military data and on organization of troops, concentration, their location, their method of training, and besides this, to get data, classified data, in political field, about the organization and character of the German Nazi Party, about struggle between ruling members of the Nazi Party, about their personal characters, inclinations, about the reason why Hess flew to England—it was part of intelligence for the Soviet Union—and about the war plans of Germany.

General staff already knew in more or less exact detail that Germany was going to declare war on Soviet Union, but for a reason which is not known to me, the Stalin group did not believe that, including Malenkov. So they wanted to check if Germans were concentrating troops on the eastern frontiers and to declare war on the Soviet Union. But it was too late to put this task before intelligence forces in 1941, in May. They had to proceed with this task 1 year earlier, at least, and believe in dispatches which were being dispatched from Germany about German preparations.

So in short, all members of intelligence working under cover of Tass were working to get political, military, and technical data on Germany, on the Nazi Party and on German preparations.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you have information about the Tass setup in the United States?

Mr. EGE. I have no information concerning individuals, because that was not my field. But from my background and experience and contact with high-ranked Soviet intelligence officers, with the director of Soviet intelligence, my contact with the NKVD intelligence officers, I knew that Tass was used in United States as in any other foreign country, and I might say that it was used more extensively because of the freedom for their movements, and from other points of view.

For instance, in Germany it was not simple work, under cover of Tass for Soviet intelligence. It was not so in America, because of less restriction, and freedom of speech, and people in United States could not believe—and I think still many people cannot imagine or think how Tass—or any other Soviet agency working abroad—was extensively used as a cover for military espionage. That is beyond their comprehension.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean, Mr. Ege, or do I understand you to say that in the United States, you knew from your own experience from Soviet intelligence sources, that in the United States Tass was used more extensively than it was in other countries, particularly Germany?

Mr. EGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any other questions along those lines, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ege, will you give us, by using concrete examples, how this particular Berlin operation of Tass functioned?

Mr. EGE. What do you mean by "concrete examples?"

Mr. MORRIS. How did you function? Did you send your reports to Moscow via cable, or did you send them in through other means of communication?

Mr. EGE. Well, I never used Tass channel for this purpose, because Tass is news agency of Soviet Union. It was created in 1925 by decree of People's Commissars, as news agency. And no intelligence officer or agent can use Tass as a channel. It was their cover. If somebody used it as a channel for communications, then that would be discovered very quickly, and all is blown up. You have to be very secretive. And conspiracy is the principle of intelligence.

Tass, during our operations in Germany, was cover for us. We had Tass cards. We had social standing as Tass correspondents. We were being invited to social parties, to conferences, to press conferences. We had access to press members of other agencies, like Reuters, AP, UP, Wolff, and any other news agency; and that gave us under cover of Tass work using this passport. But no intelligence officer would use Tass as his channel of communication to dispatch reports.

For instance, when Kudryavtsev was agent for the fourth section, or when I was vice president of Tass, my primary interest was intelligence. So I could not give my whole time for Tass. I could not get all newsworthy news that they were talking about. But I was interested in intelligence, and as I talk in Germany, in organization of Nazi Party, about the frictions between the parliamentary groups, and so on. And, of course, I had to give a little for Tass, because if it would be seen that, being a Tass member, I was doing an intelligence job, it would be discovered that this strange man is not working for Tass; he is getting his money and working at something else.

So every member of Tass is ordered to work for Tass, giving the proper time, and find, by any means, time and chance for his intelligence activities. I mean, Tass is a cover, but not channel of communication.

I would like to tell here to the subcommittee about that news character of Tass. It is of political importance. An ideal for a news agency is when news agency gathers information and delivers it very rapidly in as quick time to its headquarters in order to supply its customers with information and news. And this news has to be true news, without bias, without opinion.

Not so with Tass. When we were working for Tass, we were ordered to select news in order that it be used in the interests of the Communist Party of Soviet Union.

I would like to direct your attention that Tass works not only outside of Soviet Union. It works inside of Soviet Union. It is only one existing news agency, and it supplies with information the Soviet Government, the Soviet press, and having agreement with the news agencies all around the world, it supplies, with its information, foreign news agencies.

Now, in Soviet Union, before the war, during the Second World War, after the war, there were events of public interest. There were hungers. There were oppositions to Soviet Government. There was forced collectivization, deportation of thousands of people to con-

centration camps. There was big war. There was a moment when the very existence of Soviet Union depended upon help by supplies and armaments from the United States.

There was period after the war. There was cold war. Never Tass supplied information which was true, authentic, and in the interests of the world public opinion and of the Soviet people.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Ege, you are testifying, then, are you not, that the messages, or the radio messages, that were sent from the Tass reporters in their Tass capacity are for the most part accurate information?

Mr. EGE. Mostly that is political information, and that is used for propaganda purposes, without bias. And as far as Tass does not edit itself and publish, it is retouched and changed and done in the best interests of the Communist press, because press is considered, according to principle of Communist Party, as one of the weapons of the Communist dictatorship, and Tass cannot avoid that.

Now, besides its political information, Tass gathers commercial economic information, too, and that, being dispatched to Moscow in central apparatus of Tass, is analyzed and disseminated in its own way and put into form of information bulletins and submitted through the proper agencies to interested customers, like intelligence department, NKVD, Communist Party headquarters, and Soviet Union rulers.

What is of interest in my time—Tass supplied information not only against the interests of the Soviet public. It misleads the Soviet citizens with its prejudiced, nonobjective information. Not even Soviet Party—even Soviet rulers would not understand what is going on truly in the outside world. Tass was biased, instructed to select in the way which is more favorable to Stalin.

For instance, when I was working in Tass in Germany, we were ordered to select only news which was talking about German view of Soviet Union, about the attitude of Germans to Russians, and all Tass members were spending days and nights sometimes finding out, from all the texts of newspapers and magazines, little articles when Germans were going to attack social and moral views of Soviet Union and gathered and sent it in. But I don't know a fact or a day when Tass was just engaged in an objective way of gathering news for news. That is official side of Tass. And that explains, by the way, why Tass is not efficient.

There is no sense of making parallels between United Press and Tass, for instance, or AP, or Reuters. Eighty percent of Tass personnel are Soviet agents, and their interests lie in espionage, but not in Tass activities. And they do it as far as they need it as a cover.

And as such, usually it can be proven by life itself, members of Tass, Tass correspondents, are not professional journalists. And being not professional journalists, they cannot put this Tass into right course. And what they are interested in is espionage, political, military and so on.

Later on, when my job was stopped in Germany, I was transferred to Turkey, when I had contact with Tass again. And I could give this subcommittee how Tass operated in Turkey, by examples.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you go to Turkey, Mr. Ege?

Mr. EGE. When war broke between Germany and Soviet Russia, I was arrested by Gestapo and put into concentration camp 3 or 4

weeks, and exchanged by Germans for Germans in Soviet Union, released from camp, and sent via Turkey back to Soviet Union. In Turkey I was ordered to stay in Soviet Embassy, and I was appointed press attaché of Soviet Embassy.

Mr. MORRIS. Still as an intelligence officer?

Mr. EGE. I——

Mr. MORRIS. Still as an intelligence officer?

Mr. EGE. Yes; because Turkey was a neutral country, and all Soviet apparatus was destroyed in Germany, and it was necessary from a neutral country to reorganize and direct agent operations against Germany, and I was ordered under the cover of press attaché of Soviet Embassy to renew and to reorganize agent operations against Germany.

So I stayed in Ankara and Istanbul as press attaché.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you known as Nikolayev there? Were you Nikolayev there?

Mr. EGE. Still Nikolayev, yes, because they would not change my passport, and nobody could believe, of course, that I was Akhmedov. And I had to wait for years and years until I proved that I was Akhmedov. There were persons who knew me from my childhood, and they came. The world is too small, and it was proven that I was Akhmedov.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Ege, before you leave Berlin completely, how did you transmit your reports, your secret military reports?

Mr. EGE. Usually all Tass members working for intelligence—I said that about 80 or 85 percent of Tass correspondents are Soviet agents working for some kind of Soviet intelligence agency—they transmit their reports through the diplomatic pouch and through the chief residents.

For instance, here we had Kudryavtsev, Sergei. He could not dispatch his news because he was small fry in intelligence. He was just agent. What he had to do was to report his findings to his chief resident and in his case, I was his chief. So what he had to do was to report all data got by espionage to me. The same for Mr. X. And I had to send all this information with my views and my own information by diplomatic channel to Moscow. If it was urgent, we used wireless, which was in Soviet Embassy.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you use a code in that case?

Mr. EGE. (No response.)

Mr. MORRIS. A code?

Mr. EGE. A cipher. Code is not too strong. You have to have special ciphers because it can be monitored and discovered. And Tarasov, president of NKVD—all his findings and of other Soviet agents submitted to him, he would get that information and report on that and submit to Lavrov, who was press attaché of Soviet Embassy in Berlin, and this one would submit all that to Kabulov, who was First Counsellor of Soviet Embassy, and shot by Soviet secret police.

Mr. MORRIS. Shot by whom?

Mr. EGE. By Soviet secret police.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that?

Mr. EGE. When Dekanozov was shot in this group here. And Kabulov would all that information send by diplomatic pouch to the foreign department of the NKVD, or if it was urgent, send it by wire-

less, using his own cipher. So you see, technical intelligence being organized, agents would transmit their material to their corresponding resident chiefs, or to their chief residents, or if they themselves had contact with the Moscow headquarters, and send material this way.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when you were press attaché in Turkey, Mr. Ege—

Mr. EGE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What were your connections with Tass at that time?

Mr. EGE. Professional connection, because Tass Agency was supplier of news, press, and press attaché in every embassy is charged with getting acquainted with the foreign news of the country where he is accredited. So you have to have, with colleagues, professional contact.

But when I came to Turkey, Tass was like this: Chief of Tass bureau in Ankara was a man called Vishnyakov. This person, before coming to Ankara, worked in France, in Vichy, as Tass correspondent. He was one of the MVD residents in Turkey. Now, in Tass there were—

Mr. MORRIS. This is now the makeup of the Tass Agency in Ankara; is that right?

Mr. EGE. Yes; Ankara and Istanbul.

Mr. MORRIS. And Istanbul.

Mr. EGE (continuing). A Tass correspondent called Mikhaylov. He was graduate of general staff, graduate from the Frunze Military Academy, and working for the second section of the military intelligence department and gathering military espionage data on Turkey. He was Tass correspondent officially. And there was Tass correspondent by name of Morozov. In real life, in actual life, he was colonel of the Red army, working before that assignment in the information branch of the intelligence department of the Red army, and his real name was Medvedev.

There was Alkayeva—these are all Soviet citizens, by the way, and I point out, in Germany, all these were Soviet citizens, too. That girl was working for naval intelligence.

Mr. MORRIS. Was working for whom?

Mr. EGE. Tass correspondent Alkayeva, she was working—Alkayeva was a girl.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was she a Soviet citizen, too?

Mr. EGE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Mr. EGE. And she was working for naval intelligence, having special assignment to observe on Bosphorus; that is, she was concerned with the movement of Russian vessels.

Mr. MORRIS. And she worked for naval intelligence?

Mr. EGE. Yes.

And there was a girl called Okorokova, Augusta. She was an intelligence agent trained for espionage job. And before assignment in Germany, she was in France with Vishnyakov as agent for fourth section.

† In Ankara, she worked for Tass and later she worked for consulate as translator and typist.

Mr. MORRIS. Was she also a Soviet citizen?

Mr. EGE. All these persons were Soviet citizens.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you have any Turkish nationals^s working them?

Mr. EGE. No. At that time they did not permit for Tass work officials in that capacity. They could use unofficially, but officials they could not, because there was war, and they were more restricted.

And here was me, Nikolayev, press attaché. That was Tass. That was me. And I, Nikolayev, was working for the network which was under my supervision. Morozov was in the network under my supervision, and Augusta Okorokova was under my supervision. And that was part of my network in Ankara and Istanbul. And Sergei Kudryavtsev was in Ankara, too, before his promotion to Canada as Secretary of Soviet Embassy. He was in the same network.

Mr. MORRIS. He was in that network. And is he the gentleman, you say, who was assigned to Canada later on?

Mr. EGE. Yes, Sergei Kudryavtsev, which came to the attention of world opinion in atomic spy case, revealed by Gouzenko.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the same gentleman?

Mr. EGE. Yes.

Now, that was the network of intelligence agencies used by Moscow headquarters, and Tass was used, as you see, as a cover here, too.

Tass is better to use as a cover than embassy. For instance, first secretary, second secretary, third secretary are always used by Soviets as a cover. But from my experience, foreign counterintelligence organizations know that a man with diplomatic passport of Soviet Embassy is sometimes a spy anyway. So they organize surveillance of him, and usually that person is more suspect when he has diplomatic passport and works in embassy.

But sometimes it doesn't come to the minds of people that a little Tass correspondent is a colonel of the Red army and getting information on espionage. And usually Tass members do not have diplomatic passports, but they have more tricks. They can move. They can see other journalists, and doing that, they fish into the personal background of future victims.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, generally, what were the associations of Tass people with the local Communist nationals?

Mr. EGE. I would like you to repeat the question, please.

Mr. MORRIS. What were the relations between Tass people, Tass operatives, and Communist members in Berlin and Turkey?

Mr. EGE. I see.

Tass members are not permitted, without special permission and without special orders, to come in contact with foreign Communists, because it puts into danger this foreign Communist and this Tass member. And usually the contacts between local Communist Parties and the Soviet intelligence agencies are done by intelligence department of the Red army and foreign department of the NKVD, through the means of people who are working as Soviet agents under Tass cover. But that would be done in secrecy, and not in an open way.

For instance, in 1941, Soviet military intelligence had a special project to help the family of Thailmann, who was leader of German Communists. He was put into prison by Hitler, and his family was suffering because of lack of material support, and the intelligence department had ordered the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to organize help for his family. And it was done through Tass, which were covers, because it was necessary to find out his family and help.

And that comes. But openly, Tass is instructed to avoid political contacts or engage itself in political activity, because doing that, it would put itself under some potential danger.

So they are instructed to stay away. But being intelligence members, they do it clandestinely, in a secret way, without show, without noise.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ege, in connection with your description of the organization in military intelligence that performs illegal work, do you think it is advisable for American Communists, when traveling abroad, to be given passports by the United States Government?

Mr. EGE. I do not think so. Because, having this passport, a Communist is going overseas, would get very easily into contact with the interested persons and do his subversive work.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you think, Mr. Ege, on the basis of your experience in the Soviet Union and on the basis of your life here in the United States, that the United States Government is doing enough to encourage defections from the Soviet organizations throughout the world?

Mr. EGE. I am sure that the United States has to have a series of steps in encouraging the defection of high Soviet officials from Soviet Union. It is in the interests of the United States, because they will furnish with the necessary data the United States Government, and if there would be war one day between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, Soviet defectors could help to save thousands of lives of American boys.

But in order to achieve this result, I think there has to be worked out a special bill, because what is done on behalf of these defectors now is far below what is desired.

What makes that defector, usually in a free country? I will take my own example. I know some other persons. And I went through all this ordeal for fight for freedom.

Here stands close the Soviet Union with millions of its army, secret operatives, and Communist Party. And the person who is an agent protests against social injustice and then breaks with the Soviet Union and defects to the West to tell free people what is danger of communism.

That he was a Communist, that he was born in Soviet Union and got into some important job is not his fault. He was born in Soviet Union. If he was Communist or he had communistic feelings, or he was dreamer, and he didn't know what was going on in the outside world, or he wanted to do something for human sufferings, but when this person saw that communism is not what it is pictured, and is wrong, and defects, his ordeal starts after that.

I would bring to your attention, the example with myself—and there was Rastvorov, there was Khokhlov, there was Petrov. What was done with them all? They take your picture, put in newspapers under headline, "Ex-Soviet Spy Major of General Staff, Working Against the United States or the Free World, Reveals in His Testimony."

The presentation is made. Then he is forgotten. And try after this presentation to hunt for a job in this free world. Who will accept you, if you be not helped?

I do not remember any case when it was given proper attention to these political refugees, with names—and there were many persons

whose names are not known—told to the free world all their knowledge, and in doing so they talk into endangering their lives. They refuse all their future. And to do something, organize something, he has to wait, for the reason that he was a Communist, in a Communist country, 10 years in order to get citizenship.

If he is 50 years old, what will he do with this citizenship when he is 60 years old? They will not fit him into some kind of job. This person can't get life insurance. I can't do it, because I am risk for insurance companies.

And the press in the free world? When it gives its attention to these people, showing the people that they had done something—these people were not given chance to go to United States and to tell American people about their life in the Soviet Union, not only espionage, but common life, how the Soviet workers live. And more publicity was given to this commission, this agricultural commission from the Soviet Union, more than to any Soviet defector. They were writing about their way of drinking, their way of talking, and comparing them with American businessmen, and so on. The papers were full of it.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ege, do you think other present Soviet officials would defect if we gave them some encouragement?

Mr. EGE. If the United States Government officially would help them and protect them and give them citizenship and chance to get job, they will. But if a person lives for years and has no flag to fight under, no constitution to defend and no country where he will be accepted, not as an ex-Red, but as a person fighting communism, I am sure there would be many cases where high positioned Soviet officials will come, but not in this way. And doing it this way, I think without their knowledge, many people are pouring water into the mills of the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr.——

Mr. EGE. Excuse me. And you can take the reverse side of it. I know how Dimitroff was given citizenship in Soviet Russia.

Mr. MORRIS. Dimitroff?

Mr. EGE. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. He was the Bulgarian?

Mr. EGE. That is right. He was given within 24 hours Soviet citizenship.

I knew how Dolores Ibarruri and Jose Dias, from Spain, were taken into the Soviet Union, and when Soviet soldiers were fighting Germans and when there was lack of everything, they were living comfortably in Black Sea resorts. I know Spanish Communists who were attending with us, class in the war college of general staff. They were given more privileges than Soviet officers. I know tens of facts of that kind.

Take Nazim Hikmet, the Turkish poet, when he defected to Russia. And there were many other factors. So I think it is our duty not only from the humanitarian point of view but from the point of interest of the United States to take every measure and to pass, if necessary, a bill to encourage all defectors and to encourage life of defectors who already live here.

For instance, if I walk out from here now and if some agent is going to shoot me down, I know my family would be without a penny, living here. And not only me. There are many persons. And I know the only office or agency who appreciates it was this subcom-

mittee. This subcommittee had the courage to thank the people who came before this subcommittee, because this subcommittee understands the Communist danger. But this subcommittee is not press; it is not Government; and it is not the American public opinion, in whole. All these others should understand our side.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Ege, I wonder if you would tell us why you defected; why you personally defected.

Mr. EGE. I defected because, not like many foreign Communists who admire Soviet Union, I think the best way is to send them in order to be sent by their own way.

I fought for Soviet Union. I was born there. And from 1917 until 1942, I saw with my own eyes what is communism in theory and in practice. I learned the theory from the original books of Marx in the Russian language, of Lenin, of Stalin. I saw it in practice. And when I saw it, I was disappointed, and I saw that I was used in the wrong way, because communism is not the way of improving human misery by its methods. It is improved by more civilized methods in the West.

Take and just compare the life of a simple worker in an auto plant in Detroit, and a worker in a Russian auto plant. You will see the difference. Take all human life conditions in Soviet Russia. Could they travel outside? What will they do with their savings? They have no security for their future. And take their principles. Somebody gets dead like Stalin, and they are coming with new doctrines. That is not the way, because they are just bankrupt with this policy.

I want to be free. I wanted to tell to the free people what is the Soviet Union. And I wanted to be on my own and not be bossed any more by the intelligence dictators of the Communist Party.

That is, in short, the reason why I defected from Soviet Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you defect?

Mr. EGE. I defected June 3, 1942.

And when I defected, there was war. And in order not to be deserter of war, because I dislike Germany to the same degree as the Soviet Union, I came to the consul of the United States in Istanbul, and before my defection, I stated to him in a very clear way, in English language, that I was Soviet officer, that I am Soviet officer, I told him, using the present tense, that I am going to break with the Soviets for these, these, and these reasons; that I have this kind of information. And as far as war is going, I would like to be sent like simple American soldier to any battlefield to fight Germans, everything, in order to be some day an American.

I was refused because, I don't know for what reason, people could not understand, many people. They think when a person is talking about his background in very simple terms, thinking, perhaps in a very narrowminded way, that that is one of the turncoats, or one of the opportunists.

But if that person thinking this way could experience, himself, what is life in the Soviet Union, what it means to be a Communist, and what is freedom, he will understand it.

But foreign Communists, who are working for Soviet agency, living here, have no knowledge about the Soviet Union. They are on the wrong way. If they will live over there as simple Soviet citizens for some years, they will understand it very well.

It is very easy to talk about Marx and the Socialist fatherland of the world, and so on. But when they see, 1 year, of all this suffering, they will understand.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may stand aside, sir. We certainly thank you for your testimony. It has been very, very helpful and very important to these hearings.

Mr. EGE. Thank you.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the subcommittee adjourned.)

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NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

**SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS**

OF THE

**COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE**

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

**SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES**

FEBRUARY 29, 1956

PART 4

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:30 a. m., in room 357, Senate Office Building, Senator Olin D. Johnston presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland (chairman of the subcommittee), Johnston, and Welker.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine (former chief counsel); Benjamin Mandel, research director; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; and Robert C. McManus, investigations analyst.

Senator JOHNSTON (presiding). The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zborowski, will you come forward, please, with your counsel? Will you stand and be sworn, please? Raise your right hand.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you swear the evidence that you give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MARK ZBOROWSKI, ACCOMPANIED BY HERMAN A. GREENBERG, ESQ., HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Mark Zborowski, 2451 Webb Avenue, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. Counsel, will you identify yourself?

Mr. GREENBERG. Yes. Herman A. Greenberg, Wyatt Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the subcommittee has received testimony in executive session that the witness called this morning has been a highly placed and highly reliable agent with the Russian Secret Police, Soviet Secret Police, and he has been asked to testify today in connection with that job.

Mr. Zborowski, will you give your present occupation to the reporter, please?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I am an anthropologist, and I am employed on a project of rehabilitation of disabled people.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify that assignment a little more fully?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It is a project sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation, being done by the Veterans' Administration hospital in the Bronx.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you have a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation and your work involves work among the Veterans' Administration hospitals, is that right?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Among the patients of the Veterans' Administration Hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. "Hospital" or "hospitals," plural?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. Singular; where is that hospital?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. In Bronx, New York.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the duration of that grant?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The duration of that grant is 2 years, with a possibility of extension for a third year.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the amount of that grant?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The amount of that grant is \$13,000 a year.

Mr. MORRIS. \$13,000?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. \$13,000, covering my salary and salaries of the people working for me.

Mr. MORRIS. Has that grant been supplemented in any way?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Has that grant been supplemented in any way?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was supplemented recently by an additional person to work there.

Mr. MORRIS. And therefore, the total grant is what amount?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. At the present time the amount, it is something like \$15,000.

Mr. MORRIS. \$15,000?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did not check it exactly, but something like \$15,000.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you have any income from any other source?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I have no income with the exception of royalties from a book I published.

Mr. MORRIS. From a book you published, royalties?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. With that exception.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the name of the book?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. "Life is with People."

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was your work immediately prior to your receiving this particular grant you told us about?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was engaged on a project on pain——

Mr. MORRIS. What was that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pain among people who suffer from various illnesses.

Mr. MORRIS. Under what auspices did you carry that out?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Under a public health grant.

Mr. MORRIS. The Public Health Administration?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The Department of Mental Health, the United States Mental Health Institute.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, with the Government?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes—it is not a government——

Mr. MORRIS. What was the amount of that grant?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. What was the amount of that grant?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The amount of that grant was \$16,000.

Mr. MORRIS. And of what duration was it?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was a 3-year duration.

Mr. MORRIS. I see—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was \$8,000 per year, \$16,000 for the first 2 years and \$8,000 for the third year, \$24,000.

Mr. MORRIS. For what years?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was from 1951 until 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. 1951, 1952, and 1953?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. And what did you do prior to 1951?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Prior to 1951 I was a study director in the American Jewish Committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Staff director?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Study director.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did that assignment last?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think that assignment—I was with the committee from 1948 until about 1951. That is right, 1947 to 1948 to 1951.

Mr. MORRIS. And what did you do prior to that time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was a librarian with the Yivo Scientific Institute and also a consultant with the Columbia University Research on contemporary culture.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did that assignment last?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, it lasted from—with Yivo, I think I was from 1945—yes, from 1945, 1946, to about 1949, 1950, I was—I don't have the exact dates.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. What did you do prior to 1945?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was working for a few months, I was working with the—well, as a translator for the Army service forces.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your assignment before that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Before that, I was in a metal factory as an—well, the operation of an automatic machine, screw-machine operator, and later on a checkup man.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. You commenced that work after you arrived in the United States?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir—not immediately.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you arrive in the United States?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I arrived in the United States December 1941.

Mr. MORRIS. Where had you come from?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I came from Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. Paris?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Right—I came directly from Vic-Le-Begorre in the Pyrenees.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you stay in Paris?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I stayed in Paris since 1930—various times, the longest duration was from 1934 until 1940; 1940, that is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And where were you born?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was born in Russia; Uman, Russia.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long did you stay in Russia?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Until 1921.

Mr. MORRIS. And where did you go in 1921?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. In 1921 I went to Poland.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you stay in Poland?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. In Poland I stayed from 1921 to 1928.

Mr. MORRIS. And where did you go in 1928?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. In 1928 I went to Rouen, France, to study medicine.

Mr. MORRIS. And you stayed in France until——

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I stayed in France from 1928 to 1929, then I left France for the summer vacation, and I came back, I stayed there a year and a half, and returned back to France.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we might pass over any detailed description of this man's employment until later in the hearings?

Chairman EASTLAND. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever been a Communist?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I never been a Communist.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist when you were in Poland?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I have never been, I have never been a member of the Communist Party in Poland. I had Communist ideas in Poland.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Young Communists?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No; I was not. I was a member of a student organization which was dominated by the Communists.

Senator WELKER. Did I understand you to say you had Communist ideas while in Poland?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Senator WELKER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you arrested in connection with your Communist activity?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No; I was not arrested in connection with my Communist activities.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever told Mrs. David Dallin that you were a Communist in Poland and had been arrested for your Communist Party activities?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that a true statement?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. To a certain extent it was.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you explain to what extent it was true?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Because during the summer of 1929—1930, I was working in—I was working as a bookkeeper in a labor union and this labor union, when I was a student, working there, this labor union went on a strike and at a given time everybody present in the office of this labor union was arrested, and among them I was arrested, also, but I was released.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, why did you tell Mrs. Dallin you had been a Communist and had been arrested for your Communist activities?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Because that was in the interest of my work at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. It was in the interest of your work to tell her that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Even though it was not an accurate statement?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you work for the Soviet Secret Police?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Was the Soviet Secret Police known as the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us in great detail your first connection with the NKVD, which is the term used when we are referring to the Soviet Secret Police?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. You want me to start from the beginning?

Mr. MORRIS. I do, sir.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. When I was a student in France and I was in the city of Grenoble, I was doing work while a student, I was working as a porter——

Mr. GREENBERG. What year?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was in 1933—1932, 1933, I was in Grenoble, working, as a student, working as a porter for a boardinghouse and in this boardinghouse I met a gentleman who was at the time a friend of the lady owner of this house, and this man, who was of Russian origin, suggested to me that I should apply for the repatriation to Soviet Russia, on the basis of my birth in the other country.

Mr. MORRIS. All right, may I ask you this?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Sure.

Mr. MORRIS. What papers were you then working on, in other words, what particular papers did you have?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I lived on the French——

Mr. MORRIS. On the French——

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. French passport—well it is not a passport, it is French identification, carte d'identite, a booklet, that was issued to every foreigner that lived in this country——

Mr. MORRIS. Had you forged the paper?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That was a perfectly correct paper.

Mr. MORRIS. You had papers?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you obtain them?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I obtained them in Paris, in the Registry of the Prefecture of Police.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us briefly how you obtained them, sir?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I obtained them on the basis of my reading my own—you see, I had this booklet, it has to be changed every 2 or 3—I don't remember now how often, but I had one the time I was a student, then I changed it, proving my identity by my Polish passport which I had.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you ever tell Mrs. David Dallin that you were living under fraudulent papers?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't think I told her I was living on this fraudulent paper, I told her, I think, that I was worried, that there was a police investigation, I was worried about my status as an alien and the problem of my papers in general, I don't think I did tell her that I lived on forged papers, because it was not true.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Mr. Zborowski, how did you—did the Communists aid you in any way in getting out of Poland?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I left Poland perfectly freely, without any trouble.

Mr. MORRIS. Did any Communists assist you in your departure from Poland, in any way?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Not as I remember.

Mr. MORRIS. You are not certain?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, I am not certain, there might have been some Communists among the people that helped me get out, but I don't know whether—anyway, I was not conscious of assistance on the part of the Communists.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you continue telling us about your first connection with the Soviet Secret Police?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. At the time when I was in Grenoble, when I met this Russian man, he suggested to me that I apply for the repatriation to Soviet Russia on the basis of my birth in the country.

I was at the time working very hard, one of his reasons to interest me there was because I was working very hard in this particular place, that I could really devote my time to study as much as I wanted to, and he suggested that if I would go to Russia I would be able to study there and I would not be—I wouldn't be forced to work as hard as I was working.

I accepted this idea.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you know, at the time, he was working for the Soviet Secret Police?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did not, at the time, know he was working for the Soviet Police, and he brought me——

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know his name, by the way?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, I can——

Mr. MORRIS. What is his name?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The name is Afanasyeff.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that name?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think it is A-f-a-n-a-s-y-e-f-f.

Mr. MORRIS. Proceed.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. And he suggested to me I apply for repatriation and he brought me the blanks which I had to fill out in order to go to Soviet Russia.

I filled them out——

Mr. MORRIS. When was this?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was in 1933.

Mr. MORRIS. Continue with your story.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He said, that on his way to Paris he would take them with him and he will deposit them with the Soviet Embassy or the Soviet office which deals with this problem.

Mr. MORRIS. He did say what?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That he would take the blanks, the forms that I filled——

Mr. MORRIS. Oh, the forms?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. And he would take them off with him and he said that I probably, that at a certain time I will hear from them, and of which I was very skeptical, about the possibility, because of my background.

Mr. MORRIS. Because of your background; what do you mean?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Because my parents are not in favor from Russia, because they were rich people, and there was the trouble of the so-called bourgeois descent, which was against—which was not in favor of anyone in Russia.

And a certain time passed and he said— and I asked him— and I did not have any news from them from this, from the Soviet Embassy, I did not; I seen him a number of times while he was in Grenoble, but he never told me about any news.

In nineteen—I guess it was 1932; no, it was in 1934—in 1934 he came over to me and said that if I wanted to—if I wanted, I can go to Paris and there will be a man——

Mr. MORRIS. Will be what? I didn't understand.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. There will be a man.

Mr. MORRIS. There will be a "man"?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes; in Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. In Paris?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. From the Embassy or the consulate, who would like to talk to me about my application, would like to find out, and he proposed I go with him to Paris, and I went with him to Paris and in Paris I met this man.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you meet this man?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I met this man in a cafe in Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the man's name?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't know the name. I know the description, but—he told me—he did not introduce himself, but he said, "This man will talk to you;" this man, Afanasyeff said, "will talk to you." He did not introduce himself, I don't think.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you recognize him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I went with this other fellow, this Afanasyeff.

Mr. MORRIS. He took you along?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right, and he introduced me to this man.

Mr. MORRIS. And what name did he use to introduce?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He used a given name and he said, "This is the man," I think, but I am not very clear about it, I think he gave some kind of a Russian name which I am very unclear about it.

Mr. MORRIS. But he did give a name but it was unclear?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember, so I didn't want to make any statement.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you see the man again?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I saw him several times.

Mr. MORRIS. On any subsequent occasion did you call him by any name whatsoever?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, I called him by a Russian name and the name of the father. You know, he called himself Ivan Petrovich or Nickolai Ivanovich, something of that kind; a first name and the father's name, a patronymic.

Mr. MORRIS. A what?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The father's name, that is the way the Russians do. I don't recall exactly whether the first and the father's name, but I am pretty sure that that was a pseudonym.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you describe him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He was a heavy set man, gray, wearing glasses.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Would you tell us of this first meeting in the cafe?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us of the first meeting in the cafe?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was—this man was present, and this man Afanasyeff, and myself.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the conversation that took place at that time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. General questions: Who am I, and what am I doing, and what are my plans and where was I born—just purely informative questions about my background.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was the upshot of that meeting?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That—he say, well, he thinks he will take it over.

Mr. MORRIS. Take over what?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was the—my application for repatriation.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, the only subject discussed in that meeting was your own repatriation?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right, that was the only subject.

Mr. MORRIS. When the meeting broke up, did you make any arrangements to meet again?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He said he would inform me through this Mr. Afanasyeff, if he would like to see me.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. What did you do?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I stayed in Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not go back to Grenoble?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Why did you stay in Paris?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Because I was waiting at the time, that I would get an answer from them, from the—from this Embassy.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the next development?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The next development, I was called a few more times by this man who again was talking to me about various political things, about—

Mr. MORRIS. Just a minute, how did he call you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Come for me.

Mr. MORRIS. You said you were called by this man.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Through Mr. Afanasyeff. This Mr. Afanasyeff would come to me and say this man from the Embassy, wants to see me again.

Mr. MORRIS. He would come to you in person?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And tell you that the man from the Embassy wanted to see you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right, to meet him again in the cafe.

Mr. MORRIS. The same cafe?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I guess so—I don't really—I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. What cafe was it?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. What cafe was it?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember the name of the cafe, it was somewhere in the vicinity of the Port d'Orlean, Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. But you don't recall the precise name?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No; I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened at the second meeting?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what transpired in the second meeting at the cafe?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, sir, I cannot recall exactly what was the second meeting, I know what happened, a certain development took place in a series of meetings.

Mr. MORRIS. To the best of your recollection, when was the first suggestion you would work for the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, in the third or fourth meeting—the third or fourth meeting, this man who I identified by these two Russian names, I don't recall exactly what they were, this man told me that if I want to go to Soviet Russia, I have to prove myself a loyal—that I will be a loyal citizen of Soviet Russia.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you say, now, on the third or fourth meeting?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. This third party, whose name you don't know, told you that if you do want to go to Soviet Russia, you have to establish the fact you were loyal to Soviet Russia?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right, he never put it in terms of uncover work or police force.

Senator WELKER. May I have that last answer?

Mr. MORRIS. He said it was never put in terms of police work.

Senator WELKER. Thank you.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. You asked when he asked me to work for uncover. This uncover work never came up in his discussions.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you agree to do that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I said, yes, I certainly will.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your first assignment?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. My assignment was—he told me that the enemies of the Soviet Russia are the Trotskyites.

Mr. MORRIS. The Trotskyites?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Proceed.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. And my assignment was to find out what are the Trotskyites doing, what are their activities, and I told the man that I don't know how to go about it, I didn't know how to do it, and he told me just to go to visit their place and meet the people there.

Mr. MORRIS. And where is "their place"?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. At the office in Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. The Trotskyites in Paris or the International Trotskyites?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, the Trotskyites of Paris, they had an office there, people could come up and see and read the papers there.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. And I went up there and I seen that, seen the papers, read the papers, and I met the people there, and that was my activity for a period of time.

Mr. MORRIS. Just going to their office and meeting the people?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Going to their office and meeting the people.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the people you met there?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the people you met there?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. There were a number of Trotskyites.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, tell us who some of them were.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. There was a man by the name of Naville.

Mr. MORRIS. Spell that.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. N-a-v-i-l-l-e. There was a man by the name of Molinier.

Mr. MORRIS. Spell that.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. M-o-l-i-n-i-e-r. There was a man by the name of Rosenthal.

Mr. MORRIS. Spell that.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. R-o-s-e-n-t-h-a-l.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was Mr. Sedov there?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Mr. Sedov was not there.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Mr. Sedov?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Mr. Sedov was the son of Trotsky.

Mr. MORRIS. Why didn't he go by the name of "Trotsky," do you know?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, I think it was the name of—I think it was the mother—his mother's name—

Mr. MORRIS. Why wasn't he called "Mr. Trotsky"?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Why he wasn't called "Mr. Trotsky"—I wouldn't be able—I think I would guess that he was afraid to be called by the name of "Trotsky," but I am not sure.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, then, it is your testimony that you went to the French office of the Trotskyites?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And you reported back on what you learned?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. To whom did you report?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. To whom did you report on this assignment?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. In the beginning I reported back to this first man I met, to this older, heavy set man, who was—

Mr. MORRIS. How did you report?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I would report—I would tell him verbally what I was—what was happening.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you call him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you call?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I didn't call, there was meetings set out between him and me.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you set out the meetings?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He would tell me, "You come back in 2 weeks"—I am giving an example: "at 3 o'clock, and then I will see you." And the meetings were always set up in a cafe.

Mr. MORRIS. And it is your testimony you reported orally?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Your testimony is that you reported orally?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the next stage of your assignment?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Then this man introduced me to another man.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you describe this second man?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The second man was a tall, dark fellow, pale in his face, dark eyes; that is about how I can describe him.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know his name?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't know his name.

Mr. MORRIS. What name did you call him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I called him some kind of a Russian patronymic name.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't know his name?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I tell you, Mr. Morris, that in Russian you don't have to use the name so often because you usually say the "you" more than any other form.

Mr. MORRIS. How many times did you meet with this second man?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, I met—I don't recall exactly, maybe 5, maybe 6, maybe 7 times, I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. And it is your testimony that you, a well educated, highly educated and professional man, cannot recall what his name was?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. It is your testimony that you cannot recall here, today, the name you used in addressing him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, sir, it was 22 years ago. The name was used very infrequently, because the—because most of the time I used the second person plural.

Mr. MORRIS. This second man, did you ever call him on the telephone?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, I never called him on the telephone. There was given to me a possibility to call him, if I wanted to.

Mr. MORRIS. And if you did call, what person were you to ask for?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was to ask for an Armenian—something which sounds like Barmidgan.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that to the best of your ability?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. B-a-r-m-i-d-g-a-n, Barmidgan, it was an Armenian name—it was so many years ago that I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, you do recall the name, then.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, this name I do recall.

Mr. MORRIS. And this is the name of the second man, is that right?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, no, that was not the name, I was supposed to call that if I had to call somebody to meet me, that was the name I was to use on the telephone.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was this third man, this man with the Armenian name, was his telephone in the Russian Embassy?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Was his telephone in the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that the NKVD telephone in the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't know whether the NKVD—it was the official telephone of the embassy and I had to ask for the man.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever have occasion to use that telephone?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I had occasion to use that telephone, I guess, once.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that occasion?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That occasion was, that the man did not come for a very long time, the man did not come for a very long time, and I guess—and I didn't know what happened, and I called this man's telephone.

Mr. MORRIS. And then what happened when you made the call?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Then it was arranged that I call him, that it will be the next week, next week or the next 10 days, that he will show up at the same time in the same place where we met previously.

Mr. MORRIS. In the cafe?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. In the same cafe?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. In the same cafe, in the same place where we had met previously.

Mr. MORRIS. How many times did you meet him there, altogether, now?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Wouldn't it be about a dozen by your testimony?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. You are asking me, in the same cafe? I don't know, because there was a number of cafes.

Mr. MORRIS. I was asking if the meeting place of the second man was the same cafe in which you had met the first man.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. It was not?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No. You see, every time that we had separated, whether for the first or second or third man, we would set up a meeting place in one of the cafes, now, the place, which was—if I would call them, the place of meeting, for the emergency call, would be the same cafe we met the last time, it doesn't mean it was always the same cafe, that is why I don't remember the name of the cafe, it was various places in Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your second assignment after you had reported on the activities of the French Trotskyites; what was your second assignment?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. My second assignment was to get—to contact, get in touch with Sedov.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first meet Sedov?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think it was in 1935.

Mr. MORRIS. What were the circumstances?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I met Sedov, if I am not mistaken, if I recall, in the Sorbonne, in the hall of the Paris University.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you just walk up and introduce yourself?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, I was introduced by his wife.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you meet his wife?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I met his wife in the Trotsky organization in Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you report that meeting to the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did report that meeting to the NKVD.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you a question.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that Stalin was personally informed of your infiltration of the Trotsky organization?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was told that Stalin was informed of——

The CHAIRMAN. You were one of the most important men in that, weren't you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you knew that Stalin so considered you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

The CHAIRMAN. You knew Stalin so considered you, didn't you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I didn't know that.

The CHAIRMAN. You were assigned a very—given a very important assignment, were you not, that had to do with assassination?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

The CHAIRMAN. That had to do with assassination.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't know that it had to do with assassination. The assignment was given to find out from Sedov his relationship with the Hitler movement, that is what I was told, that Trotsky prepared with the Germans a plot against the Soviet Union, and that was my assignment.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not given an assignment or told to arrange for his assassination?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was given, not an assignment of his assassination—I never got an assignment of this kind.

The CHAIRMAN. You were given an assignment to lure him to a place where Soviet agents would assassinate him, were you not?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. At a very later time, I was given such an assignment.

The CHAIRMAN. You were given such an assignment?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. And I did not execute it.

Senator WELKER. May I interrupt?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Zborowski, you recognize, when you were given that assignment, to lure Trotsky to a place where he would meet his death—

Mr. MORRIS. Not Trotsky; Sedov.

Senator WELKER. Sedov—that was kind of an important assignment?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. May I state, Senator, that I was not given an assignment to lure Sedov to a place for assassination.

The idea was at the time, it was told to me the idea was, to lure him to a place where he and me together would be kidnaped and brought to Soviet Russia, that was the idea that was explained to me.

Senator WELKER. Yes, I understand, you were given the assignment to lure this man to a certain place where both of you would be kidnaped.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Senator WELKER. And that certainly impressed you as being not a very easy assignment?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, it was an assignment which was against my convictions at the time.

Senator WELKER. It was an assignment given you against your convictions?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Senator WELKER. And you were carrying out orders that had been given you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, at the time this assignment was given to me, I didn't carry out the orders any more, at this time, I was playing an anti-Soviet role.

Senator WELKER. You were playing an anti-Soviet role?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, without—without, naturally, admitting that to the people—that was for quite a long period of time, already, I was sabotaging their orders.

Senator WELKER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, would you tell us precisely how you were carrying out your assignment?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us precisely how you were carrying out the assignment.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, my assignment was, for instance, to report to them on the movements of—my assignment was to report on the movements of Trotskyites—Sedov—or supply them with documents which were of importance to the NKVD, and that was exactly what I did not do.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, you gave at that time detailed and constant reports to the NKVD on his movements; did you not?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No; I gave them information so distorted and so changed or so delayed that the information—they could not use it.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that you did not give back reports?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It depends on at what period of time, because the Senator asked me about the period of the luring, for the kidnaping, if I am relating to this period of time——

Mr. MORRIS. No; I want you generally——

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. From 1937 on, after the first trial, I changed my entire attitude toward the NKVD and the Stalinists and the Stalinist policy, and since then, since this period of time, as I became convinced that all the trials were forgeries, that Sedov had nothing to do with plotting against Stalin, I changed my entire attitude toward the Stalinist policies and since this period of time I began to miscarry the orders which I received.

Mr. MORRIS. May we take individual cases?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Let us take individual cases.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Sure.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you report to the NKVD the arrival of the Trotsky files at the Nicolaevsky Institute?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Beg pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you report the arrival of those files at the institute?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Whom did you report that to?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I reported to the man with whom I was at the time in contact.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he 1 of the 3 men you have discussed?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, he was a different person altogether. I think he was of Georgian origin. He was of Georgian origin, a dark-small-featured, small, not tall man.

Mr. MORRIS. How long after you reported the arrival of the Trotsky file at the Nicolaevsky Institute were those files stolen?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't recall how long after that.

Mr. MORRIS. Were they stolen on the night of November 7?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I guess so, I don't recall when he brought them, I know that I was told——

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember where you were on the occasion those files were stolen?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. To the best of my recollection I was at home.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have received information that this witness did report the arrival of the Trotsky files at the Nicolaevsky Institute and that this man set up an alibi for himself by attending a meeting celebrating the Soviet revolution on November 7.

You recall that, at all?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No sir, I don't recall that, and it happened 20 years ago, I don't recall that, and I didn't have to set up no alibi——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you remember what your alibi was?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was not an alibi, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, you knew those files would be stolen?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we have information you did know that; we have information from——

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, sir——

The CHAIRMAN. Information from men who were formerly high up in the Soviet espionage setup.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, sir, I did not know——

The CHAIRMAN. To get that information so that those files could be stolen and taken to the Soviet Union.

Now, didn't you——

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Senator, may I state that I did not know that this file was stolen, I say that under oath.

The CHAIRMAN. You are under oath now.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right, that is exactly it, and I am stating under oath that I did not know that these files will be stolen, and I did not set up any special alibi because I did not know they were to be stolen on this particular night and, the third thing, the files, which I informed about, were not the important files of the Trotskyite archives, the really important files were sent by myself and some other person, I don't recall exactly—Mrs. Dallin, I think, participated, were sent to Trotsky——

Mr. MORRIS. When were they sent to Trotsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. When were they sent to Trotsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. They were about in this period of time.

Mr. MORRIS. Subsequently, were they not——

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Counsel——

Mr. MORRIS. Did you not report the arrival of the file——

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. But, that was a different——

Mr. MORRIS. Did you report the arrival?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Counsel, excuse me——

Mr. MORRIS. And it may have been that there were other files you considered more important, but we are talking about the fact that certain files arrived at the institute.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you reported that to the NKVD and they were stolen?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, I don't remember that I reported the very day, I don't remember that, I know I reported on the arrival of these files at the Institute of Nicolaevsky, I know that they were stolen later on, I did not participate in the theft, neither I knew about the preparation of it.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you not protest to the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. That they should not have stolen those files because they almost revealed your identity because only two people knew?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Right, sir, and that exactly proves my point, that I was extremely angry that they were stolen at those archives, because only two people knew about the archives, and the fact they were stolen put me in a precarious position.

Mr. MORRIS. To whom did you make this protest?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. To this person who was probably in charge.

Mr. MORRIS. What did he say?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, he laughed it off.

Mr. MORRIS. He what?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He just laughed at this and said it was nothing, nothing will happen to you—they don't do that.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you continue to give reports on the whereabouts and the activities of Sedov to the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you remember when Sedov died?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you call the ambulance?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. That took Sedov to the hospital.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember calling the ambulance, sir. I may have. I don't recall. At the time I was very upset and I don't remember calling the ambulance.

I think, though—I am not sure, I think I knew about—I find out about the transportation to the hospital subsequently, but I am not sure—I may have been the one who called the ambulance.

Mr. MORRIS. What hospital was Sedov taken to?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember the name of the hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony you don't remember the name of the hospital to which Sedov was taken?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, sir, I don't recall the name of the hospital. I can identify it.

Mr. MORRIS. Was it the hospital run by Russian emigres?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. After a while I found out it was run by some Russian people.

Mr. MORRIS. So, you do remember—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember the name of the hospital. I remember the hospital, sir. If you would tell me the name, I will tell you whether it is or not, but I don't remember the name of the hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you report to the NKVD the fact that he was in a hospital?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did report the fact he was in the hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. And you reported the name of the hospital, didn't you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Probably.

Mr. MORRIS. And you visited the hospital, did you not?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And you reported your visit to the hospital to the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, that I don't recall, whether I reported the visit to the hospital, I don't remember, I may have, but I don't recall. I remember I reported the death of Sedov in this particular hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Sedov did die, did he not?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, he did.

Mr. MORRIS. Weren't there mysterious circumstances surrounding his death?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. There were—there were—there was the supposition that there were mysterious circumstances, but according to the final—as I know, according to the final autopsy and post mortem, he had died of peritonitis.

Mr. MORRIS. Of peritonitis?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right, and it was a perfectly normal death, in the case of his—that is all I know, there was never—there was talk about mysterious circumstances, but it is not to my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you report during this period of time on the movements of General Krivitsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was previously, I did report on General Krivitsky.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was General Krivitsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. General Krivitsky was a member of the Russian Intelligence or police at this time, who broke with the Stalinist movement.

Mr. MORRIS. And when did he first come into your life, directly, or by Sedov?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He came into my life through Sedov, who told me to go and pick him up from a place where he was hiding.

The CHAIRMAN. You were his bodyguard, were you not?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. You were his bodyguard?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was his bodyguard.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member of the NKVD, secret agent?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were General Krivitsky's bodyguard?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you move General Krivitsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you move General Krivitsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Taken over to a place where he met Sedov, that is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you report that fact to the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That part, yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Sourwine was the counsel at the time, counsel of this subcommittee, at the time this man testified. He is here today to advise us on this particular hearing and other matters.

I wonder if he may now ask him questions in connection with this testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Zborowski, do you remember testifying in executive session that you did not report to the NKVD where you had moved Krivitsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't recall exactly—I don't think that—I may have mentioned in executive session that I brought him to any special place, I remember, I think I said, in executive session, that I moved Krivitsky to meet with Sedov and meet some other person, but I didn't know where he went from the place he was hiding, that is what I said.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let me read your testimony.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Please do.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said:

I knew, as a matter of fact, exactly where he was but I never disclosed where he was.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Isn't that your testimony?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you told us here today that you did report to the NKVD of where you moved Krivitsky.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. May I straighten it out?

Mr. SOURWINE. Please do.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The question was, where are you—where I moved Krivitsky. I said I did not know where I moved Krivitsky, exactly, but at a later time I found out, I knew where Krivitsky was, but I didn't—the question was with reference, I think, to the movement of Krivitsky from the hiding place to another place, but I didn't know which place it was. Subsequently I knew very well where Krivitsky was.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was, whether you reported to the NKVD.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was whether you reported to the NKVD.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was, whether you reported to the NKVD, and you now say you did; is that right?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. You say now that you did report to the NKVD.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir; I did report to the NKVD the fact I knew Krivitsky, but I did not report his whereabouts.

Mr. SOURWINE. Oh, now, do you want us to believe that you moved this man and that you reported to the NKVD that you had moved him but you did not tell the NKVD where you moved him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Counsel, I tried to make it clear, as to taking Mr. Krivitsky at the time from one place, to get to another; not to a place, not to an apartment or another place, but to meet with Sedov or somebody who will take it over, and at the time I mentioned Sedov. I move Krivitsky, I did tell the NKVD that I moved Krivitsky to this—not to a place, where he was, but to meet another person, I think Sedov, but later on and subsequently, a day or two later, I found out where Krivitsky was, but that I did not report to the NKVD, they never knew the whereabouts of Krivitsky.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not ever know the whereabouts of Krivitsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The address where Krivitsky lived, they never knew.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, who assassinated Krivitsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. Who assassinated Krivitsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The Soviet police.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, hadn't you testified the NKVD assassinated him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How could they assassinate him if they never knew where he was?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. But they assassinated in the United States, they did not assassinate—

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you know they assassinated him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That was stated in the papers, I think, people in the United States, there were ideas that he committed suicide, or ideas that he was assassinated—

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who assassinated Krivitsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't know who assassinated Krivitsky.

Mr. SOURWINE. Another question. You told Mr. Morris that you were not on an important assignment in connection with Sedov; is that right?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did not tell that I was not on an important assignment, I mentioned I was—I think the Senator said I was on an important assignment, but I did not say I was not on an important assignment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, were you not told by a superior that your assignment was considered extremely important?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you were told by a superior that Stalin considered the job you were doing extremely important?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I heard about it, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zborowski, did you also report on the activities of Mr. Alexander Barmine, who had previously defected from the Soviet Union?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Only once or twice.

Mr. MORRIS. Only once or twice?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, because I was never in close contact with Alex.

Senator WELKER. May I interrupt before you go on to another subject?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Zborowski, this morning in executive session you told of certain of your activities with respect to General Krivitsky.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Senator WELKER. I wish you would tell the committee, as you told me in executive session this morning, about your trips to the park, your walks with him and your observing him and what you did, just as you did in executive session this morning. Would you mind doing that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir. For this short period of time, when I was the bodyguard of Krivitsky, my assignment was to protect—well, to protect him—to be, rather, a witness if anything happens to him—and Krivitsky was very much afraid of going out in places where he could be hurt by the NKVD and I would go out with him, let us say, to a park, to—well, to a cemetery, a French cemetery, Pere La Chaise—or, let us say, he had to see one friend of his, and I have to bring him up to this friend, to the house of this friend, which I did, and this was a period of time that Krivitsky was with me for walks—my function was to protect him from any—to be a witness.

Senator WELKER. Krivitsky was afraid of his life from the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Senator WELKER. And you were assigned to be his bodyguard?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, put it that way.

Senator WELKER. Keeping him from getting—people might want to take his life—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Bodyguard—in terms of the physical, of physical intervention in case something happened, I don't think I was considered as such, not in terms of bodyguarding; in terms of being with him and being present, a witness if anything happened.

Senator WELKER. You were assigned to be a witness?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, to protect, not as a person who would fight or start fighting as a bodyguard——

Senator WELKER. In your duties when you were assigned to General Krivitsky, and feeling that you would have been of help to him, would you have tried, would you have gone in and tried to defend him——

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, I would; I certainly would.

Senator WELKER. You would not turn your back?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Because at this time I was very anti-Communist and anti-Communist minded.

Senator WELKER. At that time you were very anti-Communist?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Senator WELKER. And you would have tried to help General Krivitsky?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right; yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. Now, tell the committee, please, just how you reported. Suppose you went out to the cemetery with General Krivitsky.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. What were your duties with respect to reporting that incident?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I would say that I was with General Krivitsky on a walk, that I spent with him about an hour or so.

Senator WELKER. Yes. To whom would you report that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. To the person who I was in contact with at this particular time.

Senator WELKER. And that would be the representative of the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Senator WELKER. And did you report on those incidents at the time they happened or did you just delay——

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No; I would——first of all, I would delay the report.

Senator WELKER. You would purposely delay the report?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I would delay the report.

Senator WELKER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you also report to the NKVD about the movements of Ignatz Reiss?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did not know anything about the movements of Ignatz Reiss.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Sedov have a meeting planned at Reims with Reiss?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't think Sedov ever had to move Ignatz Reiss out from Reims. I know that Sedov had to meet a lawyer from Switzerland.

Mr. MORRIS. A lawyer from Switzerland?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think so, but I don't think he met Reiss at Reims.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did that meeting take place, the meeting——you said he was to meet a lawyer from Switzerland?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did they meet?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think in Reims.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was to be present at that meeting?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think Sedov had to be present. I don't know anything about Ignatz Reiss' movements.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you report to the NKVD that Sedov was about to meet someone in Reims the following day?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No; as I recall, to the best of my recollection, I never report such thing to NKVD.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know when Reiss was assassinated he had already bought tickets to Reims?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did not; I never knew about a meeting arrangement. I think there was a meeting with Sedov somewhere, I think it was arranged, and I prevented Sedov from going to this meeting because I was afraid that it was a trap set for Sedov and I omitted a statement in the letter, I just skipped it when reading this letter, I think that was arranged, I might be mistaken, I think so.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, do you recollect a meeting of the International Trotskyites movement in Paris?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have an assignment in connection with that particular meeting?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I had an assignment from Sedov to meet the people and to bring them to the place of the meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet them in the subway?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Some I met in the subway.

Mr. MORRIS. As they reported, did you report their arrival, their movement, back to the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, sir. I reported to the NKVD. I reported the fact that such a meeting had taken place and I was present at this meeting, but the movement of these people I did not report to the NKVD.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you report the arrival of these people to the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, because I reported the meeting after the meeting had took place.

Mr. MORRIS. And your testimony is you didn't report back to the NKVD until after the meeting took place?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Nor that these people arrived?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you know a man, an NKVD agent in Paris named Alexeev?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I may have known him. As I stated, I don't know any NKVD member or agent by their names, so I may have known him, but I can recognize him only from his picture, but I cannot recognize from the name you are telling me. The name, I would say, doesn't tell me anything.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever live in a house that was near the Gare d'Austerlitz?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember meeting an NKVD agent on a bench in a park by that station?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I guess so.

Mr. MORRIS. On how many occasions?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I would not be able to tell. Several times. I don't know how many.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the subject of the conversations you had with this NKVD man on the bench?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I wouldn't remember what were the subjects, I would guess, probably, it was my activities, reporting on my activities with Sedov.

Mr. MORRIS. And it is your testimony that you cannot report here the subject of the conversation with the NKVD man?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The specific conversation, it was 22 years ago, I don't remember that, of course.

Senator WELKER. May I interrupt?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Witness, you would—Mr. Zborowski, you would report to the superior, the NKVD agent?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Your activities, what you had done?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. You were following out the orders to so report to this man you met on the park bench?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Met by arrangement?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Senator WELKER. And it was some—what did you say—22 years ago?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Some twenty—it depends on what—

Senator WELKER. And your memory has failed as to exactly what you did report to the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Will you repeat the question?

Senator WELKER. Your memory now has failed or slipped as to exactly what you did report?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The subject of the conversations?

Senator WELKER. The substance of them.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The substance I don't remember.

Senator WELKER. But you do know that you reported to him as you were supposed to report to him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Right.

Senator WELKER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You received money for these assignments?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did not receive money for this assignment, and a few times I received money from the NKVD people.

Mr. MORRIS. You received a substantial amount of money steadily, did you not?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Not steadily, I was not receiving regularly any substantial amount of money.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you receiving amounts of money sporadically?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, I was receiving money—for instance, the person would tell me, "Do you need any money?" and I would say, "I don't need any money," and he would say, "You should need money"—

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question. You would receive money?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, I would say so.

Mr. MORRIS. In what amounts?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. In various amounts.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, will you tell us to the best of your ability what amounts you received, and if you cannot, tell us so.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, it can be something like 500 francs, from 200 to 500 francs and something like that, I don't recall exactly how

much it was that I took—I tried to avoid taking money from those people.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know an NKVD man who was agent in Paris named Smirnov?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I didn't know the name of any person who resided in Paris at the time.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a man who, this committee has received evidence, was the No. 1 NKVD agent working on the whole Trotskyites matter by name of Serebrianni?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I tell you, I don't know the name—if you showed me the picture, I will identify him.

Mr. MORRIS. Described as a tall, stooped man.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I have known a person who was tall and stooped, I think I discussed before—

Mr. MORRIS. Which man was that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was one of the people, the second or third person I was in contact with in the period 1936—

Mr. SOURWINE. You said brown hair?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Dark haired, tall, stooped man.

Mr. SOURWINE. Little gray in that hair?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember that, sir, but I think I told you, I described such a person—paleish looking, tall, dark haired man.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he, to your knowledge, use the alias of Michel or Yasha?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Not as I know.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you categorically deny that you received 4,000 francs a month regularly from the NKVD for your activities?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, I will deny that, because—

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us how you came to the United States?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. How I came to the United States? The question is how I came to the United States?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I came to the United States as an immigrant on an immigrant visa.

Mr. MORRIS. In the year 1941?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. In the year 1941.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there, were you an NKVD agent when you came to the United States?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, I did not—I broke with the NKVD in 1938 and since 1938 I was not an NKVD agent, and I didn't—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, did the NKVD consider you an agent when you came to this country?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't know whether they considered, but probably they did.

The CHAIRMAN. They what?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Probably they did.

The CHAIRMAN. Probably they did?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir, because I never formally told them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we have witnesses, and I don't want to go into details at this hearing—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

The CHAIRMAN. I said, I don't want to go into details on this question and the questions I am going to ask you at this hearing.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But your answer is that the NKVD did consider you an agent when you came to this country?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I said, the NKVD probably would consider me as their agent because I never formally broke with the NKVD.

The CHAIRMAN. You never formally withdrew?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when the Federal Bureau of Investigation discovered you had been an NKVD agent, in late 1954, you were asked about it and you denied it, didn't you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did not deny, exactly, I told them my activities with the Trotskyites, but I did not state openly I was an NKVD agent.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not open and frank and truthful with the FBI at the very first meeting?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, sir.

Senator WELKER. But you are frank and truthful now and you were subsequently?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, I say subsequently I was cooperating with the FBI thoroughly, and I truthfully told them all my activities from the very beginning to my last refusal of cooperating with the NKVD agents.

Senator WELKER. And when you first were interrogated by the FBI, you were not under oath?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was not under oath.

Senator WELKER. You are under oath now.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir, I am.

Senator WELKER. And you are acquainted with the penalties of perjury?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. And you understand what that means?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. And you have told the committee the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Oh, yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. And it is your testimony you do not know the names of any of the NKVD agents?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. To the best of my recollection, I don't remember any of their names.

Mr. MORRIS. And you cannot give us the information——

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I gave the information to the FBI, identified the pictures of the people, I did, since I have been cooperating with the FBI.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the names of NKVD agents that contacted you since you have been in the United States?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No; I don't know the names of the people.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have some more questions, but if we cannot continue this hearing today, I would like to reserve them for the next session, when we may develop it.

Mr. Sourwine said he has some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to ask, did you know a man by the name of Hans Breusse?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. May I write it down?

Mr. SOURWINE. B-r-e-u-s-s-e.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI (after writing). No I don't remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know a man named Kral, who was a lieutenant in the Soviet Secret Police?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, sir, as I said, I don't know any names of the people who were Soviet agents.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions.

Mr. MORRIS. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess until Friday morning at 10:30.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have some witnesses available here; shall I make arrangements for them to come back at that time?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you come back at 10:30 on Friday, please, sir, for examination?

Mr. GREENBERG. Mr. Zborowski says he will return at 10:30.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we will recess until Friday morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a. m., the subcommittee recessed to reconvene Friday, March 2, 1956, at 10:30 a. m.)

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NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

MARCH 2, 1956

PART 5

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, MARCH 2, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 11 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner presiding.

Present: Senator Jenner.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and Robert C. McManus, investigations analyst.

Senator JENNER. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zborowski, please.

Senator JENNER. Will you be sworn to testify?

Do you swear the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I do.

Senator JENNER. You may be seated.

You are represented by counsel. You may sit there.

Mr. GREENBERG. Thank you.

Senator JENNER. Proceed, Mr. Morris.

TESTIMONY OF MARK ZBOROWSKI, ACCOMPANIED BY HERMAN A. GREENBERG, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zborowski, would you tell us the last time that you reported to the NKVD about any of the individuals, namely, Sedov, Mr. Barmine, Mr. Krivitsky, about whom we have been examining you thus far?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That was about the year 1938 or 1939.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1938 or 1939?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, I am sorry. 1937 or 1938.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I am sorry.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you specifically tell us the last date of your reporting on the activities of any one of these individuals?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I am unable to put an exact date when it happened. I don't remember. It was so many years ago. The only thing that I remember, it was in the year 1938.

Mr. MORRIS. And specifically, what was the last act of reporting?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, the most outstanding act in my mind, of the act of reporting, was the death of Sedov, which occurred in 1937.

Mr. MORRIS. And it is your testimony that you broke off relations at that time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that you broke off relations at that time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I broke off relations formally later when I stopped contacting the people. It was after 1938.

You asked me——

Mr. MORRIS. If you broke off relations with the NKVD people to whom you were reporting at the death of Sedov.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I reported on the death of Sedov to the NKVD people. That is the most outstanding thing in my memory of reporting on some of the people you have mentioned.

Now, after the death of Sedov, I still saw those NKVD people on very rare occasions, very rare occasions. Then finally after 1938, I didn't see any one of them any more. I think I tried to make it as clear as possible.

Mr. MORRIS. And it is your testimony that you certainly saw no NKVD people in 1938; is that right?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No. In 1939, I was in the foreign service in the French Army. The war broke out—with the preparation of the war—the war broke out, and since then I haven't seen anyone, any more.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, I think it was your testimony, was it not, that you did not officially break off connections with them; you just did not have occasion to see them?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, no. I tried to break off completely. I used the occasion, the opportunity of the war and of the change of the staff of the NKVD people, to break off relationship, and I haven't seen them any more, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when you broke off, did you notify them that you were no longer working for them?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, I did not notify them. I could not notify them because of the fear of death, of retaliation.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you just carried out no assignments?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And it is your testimony that in your mind you felt that you had made a break?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. But there were no outward manifestations of that state of mind that you can tell us about?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right; correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Except that you did not associate with them?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Then you came to the United States in what year?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I came to the United States in 1942.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1942?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us the circumstances leading up to your application for immigration, and such details as who sponsored you and how you came into the country?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, when I fled from Paris, I lived in a small town in the south of France, and from there I received a letter from Mrs. Dallin telling me that she had——

Mr. MORRIS. That Mrs. Dallin is Mrs. David Dallin?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Mrs. David Dallin, right; (continuing) that she was trying to help me get a permit to get to the United States. Finally—

Mr. MORRIS. Forgive me, Mr. Zborowski.

Do you want to take a picture?

Senator JENNER. Do you want to take a picture of the witness?

A VOICE. Yes.

Senator JENNER. Do you have any objection?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I would like not to have any pictures taken. But one picture has already been taken.

Senator JENNER. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. Forgive me.

Will you continue?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

As I was telling you, I received this letter from Mrs. David Dallin telling me that she was trying to get a permit to enter the United States. At one time—I don't remember exactly the year and the date—I received a letter from the consulate in Marseilles that I can apply for a visa, which I did, and I got the immigration visa to the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. And who sponsored you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Who sponsored me? Who helped me to get in?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Mrs. David Dallin.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. But didn't you have actual sponsors on your application form?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. My sponsor on my application form—in Paris, in France?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember that sponsors were needed. I just don't recall any sponsors on the application form in France.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you come to the United States, actually?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. When did you actually come into the United States?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I came to the United States 7 days after Pearl Harbor, December 15, 1942.

Mr. MORRIS. 1941.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. 1941. I am sorry; 1941.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, after you came to the United States, did any of these people with the NKVD get in touch with you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes. They got in touch with me in 1943 for the first time.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I used to work—at that time, I used to live in Seagate, in Brooklyn, which is a community on the shore of the ocean.

Mr. MORRIS. That is near Coney Island, is it not?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right, at Coney Island. At this time I used to work on the night shift at the factory, and I remember I came from work. I worked a couple of hours, and then I went to the beach. It was during the summer. I went to the beach to relax before I was to go back to work again. And while I was on the beach, a man approached me and told me that: "Finally we did find you."

Mr. MORRIS. Finally he did find you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He says, "We finally did find you."

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, he implied that he had been looking for you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right. He implied it. He said, as a matter of fact, that he was looking for me everywhere.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us as much about that meeting as you possibly can?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us as much as you possibly can about that meeting, Mr. Zborowski?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. When he said that—as a matter of fact, this man, as I mentioned to you in executive session, was identified probably correctly by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. And, at the time when he approached me, the way he approached me, I didn't have any doubt that this man is the one that was looking for me, and I am again in their hands.

And he took me to a cafe on Coney Island and started to asking me—

Mr. MORRIS. He asked you to come to a cafe?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. What cafe was that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember. It is one of the boardwalk cafes on Coney Island.

Mr. MORRIS. And specifically, what did he ask you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He asked me where I had been, what I am doing, what I intend to do. And that is all, to the best of my recollection. That is about all there was. Again—

Mr. MORRIS. He did not give you an assignment?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No assignment, at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. And then what happened after that? What was your next contact with him or anyone associated with him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Then there was another person who called me, and this person told me to meet him at a cafe, and it was at a later period of time already, because I moved to Manhattan. It was 201 West 108th Street, where I lived. And he called me on the phone and told me to meet him. "It is a friend calling," he said.

Mr. MORRIS. To meet him where?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. To meet him at some bar at Lexington Avenue.

Mr. MORRIS. A bar on Lexington Avenue. That is in Manhattan?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how did he identify himself?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He didn't identify himself. I was to be there and have an illustrated magazine in my hand.

Mr. MORRIS. You say he called you on the phone?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Had you given the first man your telephone number?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon? No. When I lived in Seagate, I didn't have a telephone number. When I lived in Manhattan, I had a telephone number.

Mr. MORRIS. And was it listed in the book?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And the man who called you the second time, you presume looked the number up in the telephone book?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I would guess so. I don't know, really. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how did he commence the conversation?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, he said: "It is a friend calling."

Mr. MORRIS. "It is a friend."

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, that is what he said, in English. Then he switched to Russian and said—he spoke very poor English and switched to Russian, and said: "We would like to see you."

Mr. MORRIS. He said he would like to see you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And he did not say who he was?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No. He said, with this illustrated magazine at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. I didn't understand that. With an illustrated magazine?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. With an illustrated magazine, to identify myself, in this cafe, or this bar, rather, at Lexington Avenue. And then he at this meeting told me, or threatened me, rather—well, you know—"It is time for you to work."

Mr. MORRIS. "It is time for you to work"?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Something to this effect. And he said, "Go establish your old contacts with your old friends, with the American Trotskyites, with the Russian immigrants, and so on."

And I said, "I can't do that."

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, he then asked you to establish contact with the Trotskyites, the Mensheviks?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And with whom else?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. With this group of people whom I knew.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Well, you were meeting these people at that time, were you not?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes. But I was meeting only very few people. I used to meet only, I think, Mrs. Dallin and Mr. Dallin, and maybe another person or two. I never met any American Trotskyites here. But he said to reestablish contact with the American Trotskyites, which I refused. I told him I couldn't do it, and I didn't reestablish any contact with them.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you refuse?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes. I said, again, no: "I will not do that." I said, "It is very hard for me. I cannot. I cannot speak the language. I would not be able to do it."

Mr. MORRIS. And did you see, or hear from, anyone again?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. After that, I was called again by this man.

Mr. MORRIS. This same man?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The same man.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he call back on the phone?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes. And I think this man was again identified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. And he again was very insisting, very angry, and very threatening, for me to work. And at this time, I became almost—I was almost hysterical, and I remember very well, I hit my fist on the table and said: "I will not do anything with you any more." And I walked out. Since then I have not seen anyone.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you meet him at a cafe?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. This was not in a phone conversation?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what cafe was this on Lexington Avenue?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Again, somewhere in the upper 80's, the corner of 86th or 87th or 89th, somewhere in there.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say, at that time you pounded your fist on the table and said you would not do that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right. And since then I have not seen them. The only time, I am not sure whether they were there or not, I received an anonymous threatening letter, implying that I will be killed.

Mr. MORRIS. You what? I am sorry.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I received by mail—I received an anonymous letter with the implication that I would be killed. It was a photograph of a man. In this letter was included a photograph of a man who was executed by the allies in Holland for cooperation with the Germans. And that was—

Mr. MORRIS. For cooperation with whom, Mr. Zborowski?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. With the Germans.

Mr. MORRIS. With the Germans.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was a picture of some man, which had certain similarity with me, certain of the features. The legend on this picture was "executed," you see.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. And that is what I received in the mail, which was quite clearly that that was an implication that I would be—something of this kind would be done to me.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what did you do with that letter, Mr. Zborowski?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I didn't do anything. I destroyed it, finally.

Mr. MORRIS. The letter and the photograph?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me.

Mr. MORRIS. The letter and the photograph?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was a clipping from the newspaper with a photograph. It was not separate a letter and a photograph. It was a clipping from the Times of one of the officials in Holland who was executed.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there a postmark on the letter?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes. It was posted—the letter I was very careful to see was postmarked Grand Central, New York. And that is all.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know the identity of the man who was portrayed as killed?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No.

Mr. MORRIS. The name meant nothing to you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No. It was just a symbol of a threat. That is how I understood it.

Mr. MORRIS. The reason I am pressing it, it was not the picture of somebody who had been active, say, in the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, is it your testimony that you did no more reporting to the NKVD after that time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right. Since then—

Mr. MORRIS. That was what year?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That was, if I am not mistaken—again, I am not clear—somewhere in 1945, I think, the beginning of 1945, or something like that.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Did you receive an assignment to report on Victor Kravchenko?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you told us about that now?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The same man asked me whether I knew Victor Kravchenko. And I said I knew Victor Kravchenko, because I met him once at Mrs. David Dallin's house.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you meet Mr. Victor Kravchenko?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. Approximately?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Approximately a few months, a couple of months after his defection to the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Which was, as I recall, in May of 1944?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, I met him probably somewhere in the fall of 1944, or maybe the winter of 1944.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I refused—I was given the assignment to foster a friendship with Mr. Kravchenko, which I never did.

Mr. MORRIS. You were given the assignment of fostering a friendship with Mr. Kravchenko?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Which you never did?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Which I never did.

Mr. MORRIS. But you did know him at the time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I knew him at the time I was invited to Mrs. Dallin's house at the time that Mr. Kravchenko was there. That is the first time I met him.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you report back to this gentleman, the NKVD man—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Just a minute, now. Did you ever report back to him anything about Kravchenko?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, that was not reporting. I would like to straighten it out. He asked me whether I knew Kravchenko, and I said, yes, I knew Kravchenko.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you tell him—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Then he says, "Well, if you know Kravchenko try to establish friendship with him and try to get him involved in a relationship with you," which I refused again; which I didn't do. I never met Kravchenko again until I think a certain time for a very short, brief period.

Mr. MORRIS. And you elected at that time not to tell these things to, say the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. You elected at that time not to tell of these episodes to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you tell any American security agency whatever about these episodes?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No; I never did.

Mr. MORRIS. In fact, as was brought out the other day, when the FBI asked you about it in 1954, you did not admit to your past associations even at that time, did you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did admit them, but not at the first meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. But I say, when they first asked you, you did not admit to your past associations with the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No. At the first meeting with the FBI, I did not admit them.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do on that score?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do? Will you tell us precisely?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. They asked me, "Are you an agent?"—something—it is hard for me again to repeat verbatim. Probably they have the record. They asked me whether I am an agent of the NKVD. I said, no. They then went into my activities in Paris, whether I was a Trotskyite. I said, yes. I told them all my biography.

Mr. MORRIS. All your biography, but leaving out your long activity with the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right. But at the next meeting, I told them everything. As a matter of fact, I stated——

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when was this second meeting? Was it in 1955?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No. It was 3 or 4 days later.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was called immediately.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you place the first meeting?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. With the FBI?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. In 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. What month of 1954?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think it was late in the fall or the beginning of the winter of 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. My recollection was that you told us before it was late 1954.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, I was wondering, when was the second meeting with the FBI?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was a few days later.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did they initiate the second call, or did you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No. They said to me, "Will you come over?"

Mr. MORRIS. They called you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And what happened on that second occasion?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. On the second occasion they said to me that they had information that I was a member of the NKVD. When they said that to me, I admitted it, and I told them everything.

Mr. MORRIS. And you told them everything that you are telling us now?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you were not able at that time, however, to give them the identity of any of these NKVD people?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I described them very closely, every one of the people that I was in touch with, and later on—I never knew the names of the people—but later on their identity was established.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zborowski, I wonder if you would listen to a description that this committee received about Afanasiev, who was a Soviet individual who was involved in Canadian espionage.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I think he was operating as a TASS correspondent. He bore the same name. I do not know whether the name is uncommon or not. I wonder if you would bear with us while Mr. Mandel reads you a description of this gentleman and I ask you if it squares with the one that you met as an agent.

Mr. MANDEL. This is taken from the questioning, January 4, 1954, in Ottawa, Canada, of Igor Gouzenko, taken from page 17 of the proceedings.

Have you—

Senator JENNER. The question is by whom? Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. MANDEL. Mr. Sourwine. [Reading:]

Have you, since you walked out of the Soviet Embassy for the last time, heard anything about Mr. Afanasiev?

Answer. Well, no, except that, just after leaving the Embassy, I understand he left Canada quite in a hurry. That was one indication. Then, prior to this, he was considered an old man in intelligence work.

Question. He had an intelligence background before he went with Tass?

Answer. Oh, yes; that is my opinion.

Question. Was that military intelligence?

Answer. No, I believe it was quite different. I believe it was NKVD line. Tass was military; Martin cover name.

Question. Do you know how old a man he was, approximately?

Answer. I would say, at that time he was about 40.

Question. That was in 1943?

Answer. Yes. Perhaps in judging the age of Russians, I would say he perhaps even was about 36 or 37, yet he looked like 40 or 41.

Question. How did he carry himself, erect or was he stooped?

Answer. He was a little bit stooped, like I said; very lively in his movements and actions.

Question. In considering that question you swung your shoulders a bit from right to left.

Answer. That is right.

Question. Did he walk that way?

Answer. That's the way he used to walk. And when he talked, I would say he was a little on the foxy side.

Question. All right. Then can you tell us anything else about any distinguishing characteristics of Mr. Afanasiev; did he have any limp or anything else that might help us to identify him?

Answer. No, I don't remember of him limping. Another thing I remember, he could be irritable.

Mr. MORRIS. Does that sound like the same man to you?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. There are certain points in which there are certain similarities, namely the irritability.

Mr. MORRIS. The inability?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The irritability.

Mr. MORRIS. Irritability.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. But there would be a discrepancy in age, because I knew Afanasiev in 1933 or 1934, and at that time he was about a man of 36 or 39.

Mr. MORRIS. So 11 years later, he would be 47?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Otherwise he was a tall man of a military bearing. But the point of irritability seems to be for certain.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you identified Afanasiev's picture at the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't think they had a picture of him.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, this is an excerpt here from a story called "Stalin's American Snoops," by Paul F. Healy, which has an episode relating to this Mr. Afanasiev. Even though we have not established this to be the same person, may it go into the record, because it does bear generally on this phase of the inquiry?

Senator JENNER. It may go in the record.

(The excerpt above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 3" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 3

[From Saturday Evening Post, January 20, 1951, p. 49]

In 1946 the Canadian correspondents had grown moderately fond of a couple of Tass reporters—Nicolai (Big Nick) Zheivinov and Nicolai (Little Nick) Afanasiev * * *. There was some bitter talk about expelling Afanasiev, but presently he said that he, too, was being summoned home. However, months later, a Canadian newsman visiting in New York bumped into Afanasiev in the Associated Press building. Puzzled, the Canadian invited "Little Nick" to have a drink and chat. The Russian replied that he was busy at the moment, but that if the Canadian would call at the Tass office upstairs later, they could go to dinner together. The Ottawa man did call at the Tass office at the dinner hour, only to be informed blandly at the door—no visitor gets inside the railing—that no such person as Nicolai Afanasiev was employed there and that, in fact, they had never heard of him.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Zborowski, when were you first exposed here, if I may use the word, as someone who has been active in the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was a few months ago.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Privately or publicly?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Publicly.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first hear about a private exposure, again if I may use the word "exposure" or revelation, let us say?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Private exposure? I didn't get that exactly. What do you mean by that?

Mr. MORRIS. When you were in this country, certainly you did not disclose to Mrs. Dallin, who helped you come into the country, that you had been an NKVD agent—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing). And that you had reported on people that she had been intimately associated with?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did she first learn that you had been an NKVD agent?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. When did she first learn? I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Let me put it this way. When did you first learn that somebody other than yourself knew about these details in your past?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think I saw Mrs. Else Bernaut—

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. B-e-r-n-a-u-t.

I saw her in the summer, I think, of 1954, and she told me that there were suspicions that I am an agent of NKVD, as a matter of fact, very weighty suspicions.

Mr. MORRIS. Very great suspicions, that you were or had been?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That I had been in France an agent of NKVD.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. She asked me whether it is true. I said no.

Mr. MORRIS. You said it was not?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did she give you her source of information?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Did she give you her source of information?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. She did not give me her source of information, but she said that Mrs. Dallin knew that also.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Dallin knew it also?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, would you place the time to the best of your ability?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think it was in the late summer of 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. The late summer of 1954?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think so. I don't recollect that very clearly. Maybe it is early summer. I think it was in the summer of 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, she was Mrs. Ignace Reiss?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. (No response.)

Mr. MORRIS. Is Mrs. Bernaut Mrs. Ignace Reiss, the widow of the man who was assassinated?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I think so.

Mr. MORRIS. You are not certain of it?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I know that she is the one always seen as the widow of Ignace Reiss.

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry. I did not understand that.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I say, she is known to be the widow of Ignace Reiss. And I know her—

Mr. MORRIS. She is known to be?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes. And I know her as such, but I have no other source of information. But I know that she is the widow of Ignace Reiss.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, would you tell us how the story began to unfold from your point of view?

When did you next hear an accusation or an intimation made that you had been an NKVD agent?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, that was at the time when I met Mrs. Bernaut.

Mr. MORRIS. That was the first time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did it next come out?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It next got out—I got a call from the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, no one else brought the subject up?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No one else, to my recollection, ever brought the subject up.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you working at that time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. At that time I was working in the same place where I am working now, namely, in this veterans' hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, did someone from the American Jewish Committee ask you if you had been an NKVD agent?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Did someone from the American Jewish Committee ask you if you had been an NKVD agent?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. At a very later time.

Mr. MORRIS. A later time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the person who asked you that time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. There was a man who was working as my substitute. After I left the American Jewish Committee, he was working as the director of research.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify him, please?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. His name is Dr. Marshall Sklare.

Mr. MORRIS. Spell that, please.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. S-k-l-a-r-e.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he tell you he had heard that you had been—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. He said to me that he heard that I was an agent of the NKVD, and that we were supposed to write a book together. He said to me that he has to break the contract with me. And he refused to produce the book together with me under the same title.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, did you affirm or deny that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I told him that that is very complex matters, and the FBI is investigating me, and I cannot talk to him any more about it. So he said that he would go and try to find out on his own.

Mr. MORRIS. But you did not deny it to him?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. You did not deny it?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I did not deny that I was an agent. I told him it is very complex, and there are a lot of rumors and distortions. I didn't go into any details with him. I told him it was in the hands of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you first discuss this with Mrs. Dallin?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. When did I first discuss it with Mrs. Dallin? I made a call to Mr. Dallin.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Dallin.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. To Mr. Dallin, and I said I would like to talk to them about telling my side of the story, namely, that it is not true that I was a full-fledged member of the NKVD. I wanted to tell them the story, that I broke with them immediately after the trials, and that I in many ways wanted to reestablish the pattern of my affection and my friendship with them, which was the true part of this picture.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, could you place this? Could you tell us what time this was?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't remember the date. It was very soon after—it was probably in October, probably in October of 1955, because it was very soon after the executive session. I told them that I wanted to see Mrs. Dallin especially because of my great respect and friendship to this person.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a gentleman named Yugov?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Mr. Yugov?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yugov was a Russian Social Democrat.

Mr. MORRIS. What is his first name?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I don't know. Offhand, I don't remember his first name.

Mr. MORRIS. Well now, did he do any work for you at any time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. For me?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes. At one time he wanted to do some—to try to get contracts on economic research, contracts for business enterprises who would be interested in knowing market research, and Yugov was an economist. He never worked for me, but at one time he wanted to establish something of this kind. It didn't work out, and he dropped it.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you pay him any money?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, I didn't pay him any money. I think at one time I lent him—he was in a precarious position, I think, and I lent him—but I don't remember that.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you pay him anything?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. There was no work done that I should pay him. He wasn't my boss, and I wasn't an employer.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you pay him \$100 to publish some statistics at one time?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Not that I remember. Did I ever pay him \$100? I just don't recollect any such thing.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall the occasion of the party being given on the 10th anniversary of your arrival in the United States—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing). Which would approximately be December 1951?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there present—I do not have to mention his name because you have given it to us in executive session—was there present a man, an American, naturalized, of Russian origin, who spoke with a slight Russian accent, who had been traveling, who had just come back, or was just about to go to the Caucasus?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. As I told you in executive session, it was not to the Caucasus. It was a man who was traveling a great deal in the Orient. And I don't know whether he just came from, or he was leaving for, but I knew that he was traveling in the Orient as a businessman.

Mr. MORRIS. Not the Soviet Union?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I told you, I think he had business affairs in the Soviet Union, but I am not clear, and I cannot state anything.

Mr. MORRIS. You say he did have business affairs in the Soviet Union, but you do not know the exact nature of them; is that it?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, I wonder if you would tell us what assignment you had—Now, in connection with your immigration papers, you never made a disclosure on them, did you, that you had been with the NKVD?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No, I did not, because the immigration papers asked me if I was ever a member of the Communist Party, and I knew that I could tell frankly that I was never a member of the Communist Party, and it was questioning my allegiance to the country, and I knew that I never had the intention of doing anything harmful to the security of this country.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, I wonder if you would now give us a rather full description of your various assignments, or various jobs here in the United States, starting with your present one.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. My present one was a grant, a study on the rehabilitation of disabled people, on the basis of a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is the precise nature of your work?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The precise nature is the application of the anthropological matters to understanding of the failures and successes in the rehabilitation of an individual who is disabled, by understanding his background, cultural background, religious background, to understand in what way will he react to the program, medical and other program, offered to him for rehabilitation, such as paralysis or—

Mr. MORRIS. And you go to veterans' hospitals?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. You go to veterans' hospitals?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I have my office in a veterans' hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. And you interview the patients at the veterans' hospitals?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I interview the patients of the hospitals.

Mr. MORRIS. Are some of these war veterans?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, they are all war veterans.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, have some of them been in the war?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Have some of them been in the war, the Korean war, or World War II?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. All of them. They are from the Mexican War to the Korean war.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, what is the nature of your interviewing these particular people?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I have a questionnaire, and this questionnaire contains about 140 questions, which are only questions of the nature of his disability, how he feels, what is the reaction of the family to his disability, what is his reaction to the treatment which is given to him. It is purely medical and attitudinal—put it that way—with reference to the disability.

Mr. MORRIS. You have written, I understand, a pamphlet called "Cultural Components in Responses to Pain."

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. And would this generally describe the work that you do?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It describes a different project, namely, that I try to understand how people differ in their reaction to pain in terms of their cultural background, which is not exactly disability. You see, I was concerned with the attitudes of people to stress. Pain was one stress situation; physical disability is another stress situation. But that is about the same type of work.

Mr. MORRIS. And this grant is a 3-year grant, I believe you told us?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you are in your second year?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And to date, how much has been allocated to you for this work?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Up to now, according to the latest budget, there was allocated about \$19,000.

Mr. MORRIS. \$90,000?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. \$19,000; that is for me and my staff.

Mr. MORRIS. And there will be an addition to that next year, the third year?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, I don't think so.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't think so?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, not after the public hearing.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean that you have reason to believe that the grant will not be continued?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Well, I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was there another grant prior to this particular one?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have a grant prior to this particular one?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the earlier grant?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That was from the United States Public Service.

Mr. MORRIS. United States —

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Public Health Service.

Mr. MORRIS. Public Health Service.

Now, will you tell us about that grant?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It was with reference to this study.

Mr. MORRIS. Before I get away, that other one was under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. And it is not under the auspices of the Veterans' Administration?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Continue.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. This previous grant was a grant from the Public Health Service on the study on responses to pain, which is a part of this published study. It is marked there.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, of what duration was that? How long did that last?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That was also a 3-year study.

Mr. MORRIS. Three years. And how much was allocated by the United States Public Health Service for that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. There was allocated altogether, I think, about \$24,000.

Mr. MORRIS. \$24,000?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. For the 3 years?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. For the 3 years.

Mr. MORRIS. And where did you physically work?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I would like to mention, counselor, that I don't remember exactly the figures. I have to go back to the books to check.

Mr. GREENBERG. Approximately.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Approximately.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right. We are not asking you precisely. I assure you we are not holding you responsible for any of these precise figures.

Will you tell us where you physically worked in connection with that grant?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I physically worked in the Veterans' Administration hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. Again in the Veterans' Administration hospital?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The same Veterans' Administration hospital.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you have an earlier grant? In other words, this now takes us back 5 years, 2 years for the Russell Sage Foundation—

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. There were no other grants. Before, I worked as a study director in the American Jewish Committee.

Mr. MORRIS. A study director?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. A study director, that is right, in the department of scientific research in the American Jewish Committee.

Mr. MORRIS. How long were you there?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I was there approximately 3 years.

Mr. MORRIS. And that takes us back 8 years.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. We are now back to approximately 1948?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right. Yes, in 1948 and 1949, I began to work for the American Jewish Committee.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, what did you do just before 1948?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. In 1948, I was a librarian in the Yivo Scientific Institute in Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. In what scientific institute?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yivo. It is a Jewish scientific institute. I was a librarian. At the same time, I was a consultant for the Jewish group with the Columbia project in contemporary research.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us about that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. This Columbia research project was established on the basis of a grant from the Navy, and there was—

Mr. MORRIS. Now, this was a grant from the United States Navy?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I guess so. And this project had a large number of people that had a large number of very specific anthropological study groups. One of them was a Jewish study group, and I was a consultant with the Jewish study group.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did that work last?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. How long did that last?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I worked there only part time as a consultant. My full-time work was with the Yivo Scientific Institute as a librarian.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you know a woman named Dr. Ruth Benedict in connection with that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes, certainly I did know her.

Mr. MORRIS. How did she figure in this particular project?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. She was the director. She was a highly respectable anthropologist. She was the director of the entire project.

Mr. MORRIS. She was the director of the project?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was she instrumental in bringing you into this project?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I met her at one of the conventions of the anthropological meetings, or conventions, and I started talking to her and I told her about my ideas of the development of the Jewish culture, and she was interested in it. She suggested to me that I would like to work with them as a consultant. And I was very pleased to have this opportunity.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you acquainted with her book "Races of Mankind," which she coauthored with Gene Weltfish?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I am not acquainted with it. It is a pamphlet.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean, is your testimony that you are not aware of the content of it?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Oh, yes, I am aware of the contents.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us your estimate of that particular book?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. It is a popular pamphlet describing various races. I have never read it, because it is too popular, as a reading on races, for me. I know it is a pamphlet on races of mankind.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet the coauthor, Gene Weltfish?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I met with Gene Weltfish, I think, once at a convention.

Mr. MORRIS. At what convention?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Once or twice at a convention.

Mr. MORRIS. At meetings?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. At meetings. She was an anthropologist.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what work did you do prior to that Columbia grant?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Prior to it? You see, the grant of Columbia was only a part-time job.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; I understand that.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Prior to that, I worked as a librarian with the Yivo Scientific Institute. Prior to that, I had a job a short while—for a short period I had a job with a commercial firm sending out parcels to France, food parcels to France.

Mr. MORRIS. And then prior to that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Prior to that for a short period of time for about 3 or 4 months, I had a job with the language division of the Army Service Forces.

Mr. MORRIS. The language division?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. The language division of the Army Service Forces, working on the English-Russian dictionary.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you obtain that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I obtained that through a friend who told me that they need translators, or need workers on that. And I applied, using my knowledge of the languages.

Mr. MORRIS. And prior to that, any other assignment? Any other employment prior to that?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. Prior to that, I was working as a screw machine operator in a metal shop.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that your first employment in the United States?

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. That was practically the first. It was not the first because when I came to the country, I worked about 2 months as a chemist, a chemical operator, until I got my eyes poisoned, and I had to quit the job, and I got a job as a machine operator.

That is my complete work history.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions.

Mr. ZBOROWSKI. I would like to state, counsel, that when I came to this country, and since I have been here, I haven't done anything which was against the security or the welfare of this country. I have lived the life, I think, of a useful citizen to the best of my ability.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman at this time may we put in the record some papers? They are mostly forms taken from various Government files that bear on Mr. Zborowski's work in the United States for the United States Government and for the various grants that we have heard testimony about.

Senator JENNER. They will go in the record and become a part of this record.

Mr. MORRIS. You may see them if you like. They are routine documents.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits No. 4 to No. 19" and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 4

ORIGINAL
(To be retained by
Clerk of Court)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 556846

PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

[Under General Provisions of the Nationality Act of 1940 (Public, No. 853, 76th Cong.)]

U.S. District Court Southern District New York, N.Y.

To the Honorable the

This petition for naturalization, hereby made and filed, respectfully shows:

(1) My full, true, and correct name is Mark Zborowski formerly Mordka Marc Zborowski
 (2) My present place of residence is 201 W. 108 St. New York, N.Y. My occupation is Librarian
 (3) I am 39 years old. (5) I was born on Jan. 21, 1908 in Uman, Russia
 (6) My personal description is as follows: Sex male, color white, complexion fair, color of eyes brown, color of hair brown
 height 5 feet 7 1/2 inches, weight 171 pounds, visible distinctive marks scar rt forehead, face white
 stateless last of Russia (7) I am married; the name of my wife or Regina
 present ally is Paris, France
 we were married on April 13, 1937 at Zdunska, Poland on Aug. 28, 1910
 and entered the United States at Phila, Pa. on Dec. 29, 1941 for permanent residence in the United States
 and now reside at 201 W. 108 St. N.Y. and was naturalized on not
 at Phila, Pa. certificate No. _____ or became a citizen by not
 (8) I have 1 children; and the name, sex, date and place of birth, and present place of residence of each of said children who is living are as follows:
Georges (m) June 11, 1937, born in France, resides at New York, N.Y.

(9) My last place of foreign residence was Vic Bigoore, France (10) I emigrated to the United States from
Lisbon, Portugal
 at Phila, Pa. (11) My lawful entry for permanent residence in the United States was
 on December 29, 1941 under the name of Mordka (Marc) Zborowski
 as shown by the certificate of my arrival attached to this petition.
 (12) Since my lawful entry for permanent residence I have not been absent from the United States, for a period or periods of 6 months or longer, except as follows:

DEPARTED FROM THE UNITED STATES			RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES		
PORT	DATE (Month, day, year)	VESSEL OR OTHER MEANS OF CONVEYANCE	PORT	DATE (Month, day, year)	VESSEL OR OTHER MEANS OF CONVEYANCE

(13) I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States on May 7, 1942 in the U.S. District
 Court of Southern District New York, N.Y. (14) It is my intention in good faith to become a

citizen of the United States and to renounce absolutely and forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, State, or sovereignty of whom or which at
 this time I am a subject or citizen, and it is my intention to reside permanently in the United States. (15) I am not, and have not been for the period of at least 10 years
 immediately preceding the date of this petition, an anarchist; nor a believer in the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or sabotage; nor a disbeliever in
 or opposed to organized government; nor a member of or affiliated with any organization or body of persons teaching disbeliefs in or opposition to organized government
 (16) I am able to speak the English language (unless physically unable to do so). (17) I am, and have been during all of the periods required by law, attached to the
 principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States. (18) I have resided continuously in the

United States of America for the term of 5 years at least immediately preceding the date of this petition, to wit, since Dec 29, 1941
 and continuously in the State in which this petition is made for the term of 6 months at least immediately preceding the date of this petition, to wit, since

Dec 29, 1941 (19) I have not heretofore made petition for naturalization: No. _____
 on _____ at _____ in the _____
 Court, and such petition was dismissed or denied by that Court for the following reasons and causes, to wit: _____

and the cause of such dismissal or denial has since been cured or removed.
 (20) Attached hereto and made a part of this, my petition for naturalization, are my declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States (if such declara-
 tion of intention be required by the naturalization law), a certificate of arrival from the Immigration and Naturalization Service of my said lawful entry into the United
 States for permanent residence (if such certificate of arrival be required by the naturalization law), and the affidavits of at least two verifying witnesses required by law.

(21) Wherefore, I, your petitioner for naturalization, pray that I may be admitted a citizen of the United States of America, and that my name be changed to _____

(22) I, your petitioner, do swear (affirm) that I know the contents of this petition for naturalization subscribed by me, that said facts are true to the best of my own
 knowledge, except as to matters therein stated to be alleged upon information and belief, and that as to those matters I believe them to be true, and that this petition is
 signed by me with my full, true name: SO HELP ME GOD.

ALIEN REGISTRATION No. _____

(signed) Mark Zborowski

AFFIDAVIT OF WITNESSES

IDEAL

Petition denied: List No. _____
 Date _____ and from _____
A TRUE COPY
WILLIAM V. GONNELL
 Clerk.
Wm. V. Gonnell
Wm. V. Gonnell

Reasons
41073-2

EXHIBIT No. 5

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH FOR MARK ZBOROWSKI

Born: January 27, 1908, Uman (Russia).

American citizen, since June 30, 1947.

Education: B. S., University of Paris, 1928. Graduate student in University of Rouen, France, department of medicine 1928-30. University of Grenoble, France, department of philosophy, 1932. University of Paris, department of history and department of sociology 1933-34. University of Paris, Institute of Ethnology 1937-38. University of Paris, Ecole des Hautes Etudes d'Histoire de Religions 1938. Licence es Lettres 1937. Diplome in Ethnology 1938.

Professional experience: Assistant editor, language unit, Army Service Forces, 1944-45. Staff member Yiddish Scientific Institute in New York 1946-49. Research consultant, Columbia University, research in contemporary cultures, 1947-51. Study director, department of scientific research, American-Jewish Committee 1949-53. Consultant, studies in contemporary cultures, center for international studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1951-52. Research fellow in anthropology, Cornell Medical College 1951-. Director of research on cultural components in attitudes toward pain under a grant of United States Public Health Service 1951-.

Publications:

The Place of Book Learning in Traditional Jewish Culture, Harvard Educational Review, XIX, 4, 351-364 (1949).

(With Ruth Landes:) "Hypotheses Concerning the East European Jewish Family," Psychiatry, XIII, 4, 447-464 (1950). "The Children of the Covenant," Social Forces, XXIX, 4, 351-364 (1951).

(With Elizabeth Herzog) Life Is With People, New York, International Universities Press, 1952. Jewish Belongingness and Group Identification, department of scientific research, American Jewish Committee, 1951 (mimeo.) "The Polish Soldier" in A Report on National Character, prepared by Columbia University research in contemporary cultures, 1951, (mimeo.). "Cultural Components in Responses to Pain", Journal of Social Issues, VIII, 4, 16-30 (1952).

EXHIBIT No. 6

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

-/18/52: Checked with Kellman's office—negative report

Form No. P2

Date on staff: June 16, 1949

Referred by:

Position applied for:

Type of work desired:

Minimum salary acceptable: \$5,200

Name of applicant: Mark Zborowski

Present address: 201 West 108th St., New York 25

Telephone No. MO 2-3289

Date of birth: Jan. 27, 1908

Place of birth: Uman, Russia

Citizenship: American

Marital status: S (X) W () Sep. () M () D ()

Number children: One

Other dependents:

Draft status:

Date classified:

Height: 5.7

Weight: 164

Physical defects, if any: none

Name, address, telephone number, and relationship of person to be notified in case of emergency: Regina Zborowski, wife, 201 West 108th, New York 25.

Education

Name and address of school	Dates	Diploma or degree	Subjects speealized in
Elementary: Uman, Russia.....	1917-21	-----	Sociology, anthropology.
High: Gymanazjum, Lodz, Poland.....	1924-28	B. A.	
College: University of Rouen, France; University of Paris, France.	1928-37	Licence ès Lettres; Di- plome Ethnology.	
Professional.....	-----	-----	

Foreign languages you speak, read, or write (check which): Russian, Polish, French, German, Yiddish, Hebrew: Speak (X) Read (X) Write (X).

Record of employment (list in order, most recent first)

Name and address of firm	Name and title of supervisor	Dates	Duties	Salary	Reason for leaving
Army Service Forces, informa- tion and education language section, 165 Broadway, New York.	Cecil F. Hubert, captain, AUS.	1944-45	Assistant edi- tor.	\$4,000	End of project.
Yiddish Scientific Institute- Yivo, 535 West 124 Rd., New York.	Mr. M. Elkin.....	1946-49	Librarian.....	4,000	Unsatisfactory conditions.
Columbia University, research in contemporary cultures, 437 West 59th St.	Dr. Margaret Mead.	1947	Research con- sultant	3,800 (part time).	

Experience data—Office and clerical

Number months training	Number years ex- perience	Office machines	Number months training	Number years ex- perience	Clerical skill
		Adding machine—electric. Adding machine—manual. Addressograph. Dictaphone. Mimeograph. Stenotype. Switchboard (P. B. X.).			Bookkeeping—full charge. Bookkeeping—assistant. Filing. Proofreading. Correspondence. Typing—words per min. ——. Shorthand—words per min. ——. Drafting. Lettering. Statistical records.

SPECIAL EXPERIENCE DATA

In what field or subject related to the program of the American Jewish Committee have you had experience: Of what type? RCC study of eastern European Jewish culture.

Publications (none listed)

SPECIAL INTERESTS

List professional, honorary, or scholastic societies, clubs, community activities and other pertinent data not covered elsewhere in application:

Yiddish Scientific Institute—Yivo
American Anthropological Association.

(Signature) MARK ZBOROWSKI.

EXHIBIT No. 7

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE,
New York 16, N. Y., August 27, 1951.

Dr. SAMUEL H. FLOWERMAN,
*Director, Department of Scientific Research,
American Jewish Committee.*

DEAR Dr. FLOWERMAN: Upon my return from vacation I found a letter from the Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, informing me that I was granted a substantial amount of money to set up a research project to investigate the cultural components in attitudes toward pain. This project is considered to be the first step toward further research focused on the possibilities of the integration of certain methods and conclusions of cultural anthropology into the field of medicine.

I have cherished this idea for several years and, as you understand, was very pleased to see it approved and supported by the Government. Therefore, I cannot refuse the opportunity to do this pioneer work in an entirely new field, a work which besides its scientific possibilities is associated with academic prestige and financial advantage.

Since I shall have to devote most of my time to this project, I am forced to resign from the department of scientific research as of October 1, 1951. I must admit that I write this letter of resignation with feelings of deep regret; first, because I have enjoyed working with you and with your staff; and secondly, because we are about to start the field work on the Jewish Belongingness study, a study which, as you know, has always been dear to me.

Before finishing this letter I would like to repeat again that working with you and with the entire department and with the agency has been an extremely gratifying experience, personally as well as professionally. I assure you that the department of scientific research and the AJC can feel free to call upon me whenever my experience can be of any help.

Sincerely yours,

MARK ZBOROWSKI.

EXHIBIT No. 8

MEDICAL SCIENCES INFORMATION EXCHANGE

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES—NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

MH-453 (C)

Supporting agency: Public Health Service.

Title of project: Cultural components in attitudes toward pain.

Give names, departments, and official titles of principal investigators and all other professional personnel engaged on the project.

Mark Zborowski, anthropologist.

Name and address of agency or institution: Institute for Intercultural Studies,
Bronx, N. Y.

Summary of proposed work. (200 words or less—Omit confidential data): In the Medical Science Information Exchange summaries of work in progress are exchanged with Government and private agencies supporting research in medical and related fields and are forwarded to investigators who request such information. Your summary is to be used for these purposes.

The aim of the proposed project is to continue the study already initiated in order to discover the cultural components in the perception, attitude toward, control of, response to, and willingness to report on pain.

The research is based on the hypothesis that human reactions to pain are influenced not only by the physiological character of pain, but also by the ethological concept of pain prevalent in the society and therefore may vary with each culture.

Data collected under grant M453 provided important leads and clues for the described objectives of the project. It is felt, however, that these leads and clues call for further, more extensive, investigation and elaboration in order to formulate valid generalizations.

The anticipated results may be significant for a better understanding of the problem of pain in general; may throw new light upon the dynamics of interpersonal relationships between people involved in the pain experience, in such social settings as the hospital and the family; may provide leads for better understanding of certain reactions to means of pain control; and may provide some insight into the dynamics of human adjustment to physical disabilities. Thus, the expected results may be of great help to various medical specialists, health specialists, social workers and, in general, students of human interrelations.

(Signature of principal) MARK ZBOROWSKI.

(Investigator) _____.

Identify the professional school (medical, dental, public health, graduate, or other) with which this project should be identified:

(School) _____.

(Investigator—Do not use this space)

Grant No.	Period of operation	Amount approved
MH-453.....	Sept. 1, 1951, to Aug. 31, 1952.....	\$7,766
453 C1.....	Sept. 1, 1952, to Aug. 31, 1953.....	13,618
453 C2.....	Sept. 1, 1953, to Aug. 31, 1954.....	13,618

EXHIBIT No. 9

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL,
Bronx, N. Y., January 12, 1954.

In reply refer to: 5081-10EG

THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION,
New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: The memorandum submitted to you by Dr. Mark Zborowski has been read by Dr. Arthur S. Abramson and myself. We consider it a well-conceived project to supply badly needed information. We are entirely in accord with it and will do our utmost towards its success.

Sincerely yours,

EARL C. GLUCKMAN, M. D.,
Chief, Professional Services.

EXHIBIT No. 10

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 1, 1954.

Dr. DONALD R. YOUNG,
Russell Sage Foundation,
New York 22, N. Y.

DEAR DR. YOUNG: Dr. Cottrell suggested to remind you that if the VA project comes through I would like to have the funds handled directly by the Russell Sage Foundation and not by the hospital.

In order to secure my complete independence as director of the project I would prefer not to be on the payroll of the hospital administration. As I understand, the arrangement which I propose is acceptable to the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

MARK ZBOROWSKI.

EXHIBIT No. 11

OFFICE OF RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION,
New York, N. Y., February 17, 1954.

Dr. MARK ZBOROWSKI,
Veterans' Administration Hospital,
Bronx, N. Y.

DEAR DR. ZBOROWSKI: As I believe Dr. Cottrell has already told you informally over the phone, our board of trustees at its meeting on February 9, 1954, approved your proposal for a study of sociocultural aspects of rehabilitation of the disabled at the Bronx Veterans' Administration Hospital. The sum of \$33,000, or as much thereof as may be needed, was appropriated for expenditure at my discretion for work in accordance with the proposal submitted, over a 3-year period beginning on a date this fall to be agreed upon by you and the foundation. One condition of the appropriation was that we receive assurance that the Bronx Veterans' Administration Hospital would cooperate fully, as suggested in your memorandum. Such assurance has been received from Dr. John G. Hood. A second condition is that the work during the first 2 years of the project shall have progressed to a stage which is convincing to the foundation that a third year's work will bring the project to completion, with a manuscript ready for submission to the foundation, before the foundation's commitment for the third year of the project is made final.

You understand that this appropriation is not a grant in the ordinary meaning of the word, since the foundation does not now make outright grants but considers its appropriations as payments for work done on projects and for anticipated manuscripts. Our requirement is that manuscripts prepared as a result of any project sponsored by us be submitted for possible publication by the foundation. If such a manuscript does not seem suitable for publication by us, the foundation will relinquish its right to it with the single reservation that if it is published elsewhere, in whole or in part, acknowledgment of the foundation's contribution will be made in a form approved by me.

There will of course be a number of details, such as those concerning manner of payment and the like, which will need to be determined in advance of your beginning work. Such arrangements can be made at your convenience. Meanwhile a carbon of this letter is enclosed for your signature so that our files may have an acknowledgment of your acceptance of the arrangement outlined above. I am sure you will not mind this formality as a means of keeping our records straight.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD YOUNG.

EXHIBIT No. 12

[From Program Guide; Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, published by office of the chief medical director, Veterans' Administration, Department of Medicine and Surgery. G-1, M-2, Pt. II, III May 20, 1955, pp. 3, 4, and 5]

A REHABILITATION RESEARCH PROJECT

Arthur S. Abramson, M. D., F. A. C. P.¹

During the last decade, "rehabilitation" has become a keyword in medicine. It is especially true for such fields as psychiatry and physical medicine that the treatment of a patient is inconceivable without a rehabilitation goal in mind. This word, which became popular with the planning for the return of the disabled veteran to the community after World War II, symbolizes important changes in medical philosophy. The inclusion of the word "rehabilitation" into medical vocabulary means a growing awareness as to the integral unity of the mind, body, and society. It symbolizes the shift of emphasis from the "medical case" to the "total patient." It stands for the concept that the medical treatment of an ailment is incomplete and often futile without an effort to adjust the patient psychologically and socially to its possible effects.

¹ Chief, Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Service, VA Hospital, Bronx, N. Y.

With increasing emphasis on rehabilitation in the treatment of chronic illness and disability, not only were new methods and techniques devised but many professions were newly brought into the treatment of the patient. The rehabilitation team in the VA hospital and in many other hospitals is now a complex body which mobilizes the skills and experiences of many professions for the medical, psychological, and social welfare of the patient.

However, in connection with the coming of age of rehabilitation, a number of questions arise among those involved in this field:

What are the reasons for rehabilitation failure?

How does the patient understand the efforts of the rehabilitation team?

What is the role of society and the family in rehabilitation failure or success?

Do all the professions involved in the program have the same rehabilitation philosophy?

What is the specific role of the hospital environment in the rehabilitation process?

These are only a few of the questions which, together with many others, are constantly discussed in articles, books, and discussion panels.

Thus far, the answers given to these questions are based upon individual experience of the author or speaker and are drawn from his familiarity with the field and from his everyday practice. Seldom are these answers supported by data collected in a systematic and scientific way. With few exceptions most of the generalizations expressed in rehabilitation literature suffer from the impressionistic character of the argument, which often weakens their legitimate validity. Thus there is a great need for systematic research in the field of rehabilitation which would provide the scientific validation for sought answers.

The Bronx Veterans' Administration Hospital has decided to initiate such a research program in order to analyze some of the rehabilitation problems. Under the sponsorship of the Russell Sage Foundation a project was set up at the hospital to investigate the "Social and Cultural Aspects of Rehabilitation of the Disabled." This project is directed by Mark Zborowski, a cultural anthropologist, fellow of the Cornell Medical School, who recently completed a public health study in this hospital on "Cultural Components in Response to Pain." A research team composed of chiefs of services involved in the rehabilitation program—Chief, Professional Services; Chief, Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Service; Chief, Nursing Service; Chief, Social Work Service; Chief, Counseling Psychology; and Chief, Clinical Psychology—was organized in order to assist the director of the project in the research. A number of semimonthly seminars were held by the research team during the years 1954 and 1955 in order to determine the scope and objectives of the study. The discussions have already borne fruit in discovering and clarifying a number of interdisciplinary problems.

The basis for the project is the assumption that the rehabilitation of the patient is a function of three factors:

1. The patient's personality and his social and cultural background;
2. The patient's social environment which includes the family and the larger community; and finally,
3. The patient's hospital environment which comprises not only all the disciplines which are involved in the treatment of the patient, such as doctors, nurses, therapists, etc., but also the organization and atmosphere of the wards and clinics where the patient is being treated.

In order to investigate the above factors in the rehabilitation of the patient, the research team has distributed among its members specific objectives for research. Thus the psychologist will study the personality of the patient by giving him a series of psychological tests. The Nursing and Social Work Service personnel, in addition to their routine work with the patient, will proceed with a self-study in order to determine their own roles in the rehabilitation program, and in order to clarify their own attitudes and feelings concerning the program and about their relationship to the patient and allied professions.

The Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Service plays a special role in the rehabilitation of the patient being a team within a team. Because of its professional heterogeneity, it is especially important to study communication and interpersonal relationship problems within this group. The objectives of this study would be to discover the weak and strong points of these phenomena and their effects upon the total team and the patient. This investigation will also be in the nature of an intensive self-study in which every staff member will be interviewed as to his attitudes and feelings.

At the same time, the social scientist on the research team will investigate the attitudes of the patients and their families toward rehabilitation, their feelings about the care which they are receiving and their expectations with regard to the effects and results of the treatment.

Because of the impossibility of investigating the attitudes of all the patients in the hospital, four groups were selected for study; namely, the paraplegic and quadriplegic, the hemiplegic, the amputee and the cardiac patient. In the process of the study the project expects to cover from 200 to 250 patients, including their families. At the same time the self-study will investigate the attitudes and opinions of about 200 to 300 staff members involved in treatment.

Four extensive questionnaires were devised for interviewing the subjects of the study: a questionnaire for interviewing the patient; a questionnaire for interviewing the members of his family; a questionnaire to interview the members of the staff of the Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Service; and a questionnaire for the members of the Nursing Service.

The actual collection of the data will take 2 years. After that 1 year will be devoted to the analysis of the collected material. The data will be recorded on cards especially devised for the project. The final product will eventually be available in the form of a monograph.

Although the project will be limited to only one institution involved in rehabilitation and although it will cover only a relatively small group of patients, the sponsors of the project as well as the members of the research team are strongly convinced that the final product of the study will be of great importance to everyone concerned with rehabilitation because it will proceed in a systematic and scientific way and the eventual findings will be supported by a wealth of data collected in a well-organized, controlled, and objective manner.

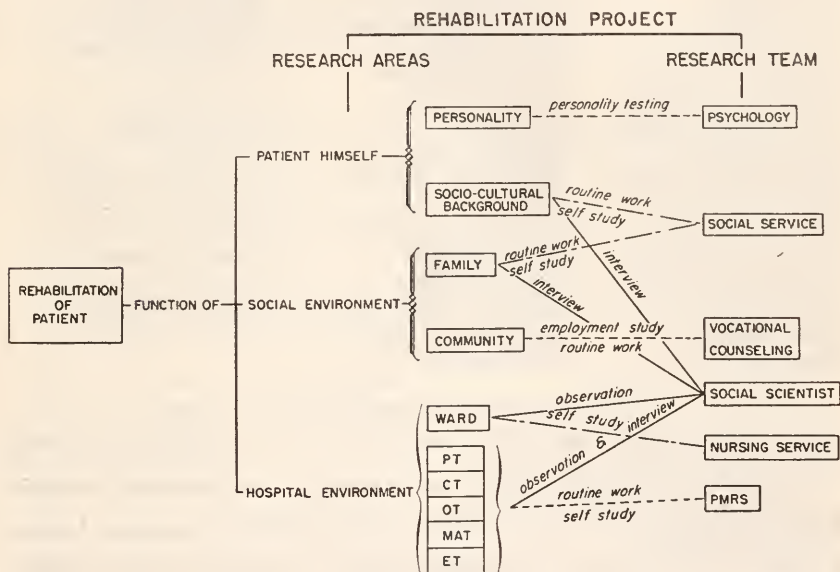


ILLUSTRATION 1

Organization of Rehabilitation Research Project at VA Hospital,
Bronx, New York

EXHIBIT No. 13

THE STUDY OF CULTURE AT A DISTANCE

Edited by Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux—The University of Chicago Press

APPENDIX B (P. 454)

PARTICIPANTS IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURES AND SUCCESSOR PROJECTS¹

Theodora M. Abel	Daniel H. Gray	Genoeffa Nizzardini
Susan Viton Anderson	Leonard Guttman	Irene Norton
Tomoe M. Arai	Leopold H. Haimson	John Orton
Ann Arcaro	Barbara Harris	Roger Peranio
Conrad M. Arensberg	Elisabeth F. Hellersberg	Vincenzo Petrullo
Freda Arkin	Helen B. Henry	Evelyn R. Richmond
Mark Atwood	Elizabeth G. Herzog	David Rodnick
Alex Bavelas	Hazel Hester	Elizabeth A. Rodnick
Jane Belo	Virginia Heyer	Marion Marcovitz Roiphe
Ruth Benedict	Nelly Schargo Hoyt	Celia Stopnicka Rosenthal
Sula Benet	Hsien Chin Hu	Irene Rozeney
Elsa Bernaut	Margarèt Huger	Bertram H. Schaffner
Roman Bernaut	Ruby S. Inlow	Shepard Schwartz
Theodore Bienenstok	Alicja Marja Iwanska	Vera Schwarz (Alexandra)
Michel M. Borwicz	Natalie F. Joffe	Eli Shouby
Joseph Bram	Carol Kaye	Milada Souckova
Julie Buhler	Rose R. Kolmetz	Rosemary Spiro
Ruth Bunzel	Ruth Landes	Gitel Poznanski Steed
Elena Calas	Ruth Hallo Landmann	Adolf F. Sturmthal
Nicolas Calas	Edith Lauer	Ina Telberg
Naomi Chaitman	Eleanor Leacock	Lucy Mary Toma
William K. C. Chen	Elsie Choy Lee	Stephan Toma
Louise Giventer Cohen	Leila Rozelle Lee	Ruth Valentine
Herbert S. Dinerstein	Percy Lee	Y. C. Wang
May M. Edler	Nathan Leites	Anna Wu Weakland
Zekiye Suleyman Eglar	Paulette D. Leshan	John Hast Weakland
Erik H. Erikson	Michael Luther	Marion Weidenreich
Ralph Fisher	Frances C. Macgregor	Eric R. Wolf
Rose Shirley Flood	Margaret Mead	Martha Wolfenstein
Denise M. Freudmann	Alfred Métraux	Rose Wolfson
Helen T. Garrett	Rhoda Métraux	Mark Zborowski
Paul L. Garvin	Philip Moseley	Rosalind A. Zoglin
Ellen L. Godwin	Warner Muensterberger	
Joseph Gordon	James Mysbergh	
Geoffrey Gorer	Joan Nicklin	

THE STUDY OF CULTURE AT A DISTANCE (P. 474)

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¹ This list is not inclusive.

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EXHIBIT No. 14

[From the New Leader, November 21, 1955, p. 13]

THE ZBOROWSKI CASE

A VETERAN SOVIET SECRET AGENT IS UNCOVERED IN NEW YORK

By Henry Kasson

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Senate Internal Security subcommittee is probing in executive session the case of an important Soviet secret agent, hitherto unknown to the public. He is Mark Zborowski, 48, a resident of New York since 1941 and the author of a widely read book, *Life Is With People*.

Zborowski's exposure traces to a former high official of the NKVD, who states that in Paris during the Spanish Civil War he learned of the existence of "Etienne," a Soviet agent then assigned to penetrate Trotskyist organizations. Because of Stalin's obsession with Trotskyism in this period, "Etienne's" communications were read personally by the late Soviet dictator. Now "Etienne" has been identified as Zborowski, and he has confessed to having worked for the NKVD.

Zborowski, born in 1907 in Uman, Russia, was taken by his parents to Lodz, Poland, during the revolution. There he joined the Communist movement, was arrested (in about 1930) and jumped bail to flee to France. There his services to Soviet intelligence seem to have begun.

His first assignment was as secretary of the Paris "Union of Returners," a Soviet-financed emigre group founded to promote emigre repatriation to Russia. The union also served as a reservoir of Soviet agents for many tasks, including kidnaping and murder.

From 1934 till the war, Zborowski worked among the Trotskyites, gradually moving through the French Trotskyite group into the smaller Russian group headed by Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov. Ultimately Zborowski was let into many important secrets of Trotsky's organization. He read many letters to and from Trotsky, met Trotskyite leaders from various countries, and participated in conferences of the Fourth International. He regularly reported at length, orally and in writing, to the NKVD on the activities of Trotsky, Sedov, and their followers. Regina Zborowski, his wife, was aware of his services to the NKVD.

The NKVD planned to kidnap Sedov and take him to Russia; Zborowski was slated for an important role in these plans. When Sedov fell ill in February 1938, Zborowski notified the NKVD of the hospital to which he had been taken. Sedov died a few days later.

Earlier, on November 7, 1936, Trotsky's archives were stolen from the International Institute for Social History, 7 Rue Michelet, Paris. A long investigation by the French police proved fruitless. Now Zborowski admits that, after helping to bring the archives to the institute, he informed the NKVD, which organized the burglary on the basis of his report.

Zborowski also figured in the case of Ignace Reiss, high NKVD official who defected in Holland in July 1937 and was murdered by the NKVD in Switzerland 2 months later. During those months, the NKVD had Reiss shadowed and the assassination organized. Zborowski reported that Reiss would arrive in Reims on a certain day, and the NKVD sent the murder gang to the railway station.

When Gen. Walter Krivitsky, another high Soviet agent, defected in Paris in the fall of 1937, Zborowski met him through Sedov and reported on all his moves. The NKVD tried unsuccessfully to slay Krivitsky at the Marseilles railway station.

Zborowski was probably involved also in the disappearance of former German Communist Rudolf Klement ("Frederick"), secretary of the Fourth International, who vanished in Paris in July 1938. Both Trotsky and the press accused the NKVD of having done away with Klement.

Zborowski and his family were in France when the Nazis occupied Paris. But in December 1941 they succeeded in reaching the United States; they were naturalized in 1948.

Soon after his arrival here, Zborowski contacted the resident NKVD representatives. (According to his version, they located him; more probably, he found his way to them.) His first assignments here were among Russian emigres and Trotskyites. His exploits during the war included contacts with and reports on Victor Kravchenko, Soviet trade representative whose defection in 1944 was a severe blow to Soviet prestige in the United States. It appears that only Moscow's wartime need of United States friendship prevented the NKVD from taking reprisals against Kravchenko.

In 1945, Zborowski was told by his NKVD superiors to shift from Russian emigres to the American scene. One of his next jobs was with the research project in contemporary cultures, sponsored by the Navy, in which the study of Russian problems played an important part. In 1952, with a substantial grant from the American Jewish Committee, Zborowski published *Life Is With People*, a history of Jewish community life in Russian villages before the revolution. Zborowski later worked on a research project on hospitals under the Veterans' Administration.

Only a fraction of Zborowski's deeds have thus far been revealed, especially those of recent years. But from the known facts it is clear that Zborowski has been a loyal and important Soviet agent for many years. The MVD is not likely to let agents of this caliber go astray.

EXHIBIT No. 15

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE,
New York 16, N. Y., November 29, 1955.

Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
*Chairman, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: We learned for the first time, through an article in the November 21 issue of the *New Leader*, that Mark Zborowski has testified before your committee, in executive session. Also for the first time, we learned that Zborowski has been charged with espionage operations, prior to and since 1945, here and abroad, in behalf of NKVD, the espionage apparatus of Soviet Russia.

It is possible that in the course of his testimony before your committee, Mr. Zborowski may have revealed the fact that at one time he was identified with a project sponsored by the American Jewish Committee; that fact was mentioned in the article in the *New Leader*.

Accordingly, so that the record of your subcommittee in connection with those hearings may be complete, we felt that we owed your subcommittee the obligation of disclosing the precise relationship between Mr. Zborowski and the American Jewish Committee. Mr. Zborowski was engaged as a temporary worker, during part of 1950 and 1951, in a subordinate research role on a sociological project sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. He was one of several persons studying the ethnological, cultural, and sociological background of Jews living in eastern Europe during the 19th century.

He first came to our attention while working on a United States Navy project, at Columbia University, which dealt with contemporary cultures. The American Jewish Committee had no reason to investigate his loyalty to the United States, inasmuch as he had met the requirements for employment on an official United States Navy Government project.

After 1951 he was occasionally consulted by the American Jewish Committee on various cultural and ethnic problems. This arrangement terminated in 1953.

We would appreciate your incorporation of this letter into the record at an appropriate point, to indicate its relationship to the testimony that Mr. Zborowski has given before your subcommittee.

Sincerely yours,

IRVING M. ENGEL, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 16

JANUARY 24, 1956.

To: Director, Russell Sage Foundation.

From: Director, Research Project Rehabilitation of the Disabled.

Subject: Request for supplementary grant.

On January 4, 1955, I requested a supplementary grant of \$5,000 per year to cover the salary of Miss Wang, in her capacity of research assistant in the rehabilitation project. This sum was accorded to the project with the provision that it will be drawn from the originally allocated funds and a request for a supplementary grant will be made in 1956.

Miss Dorly Wang has joined our staff as of April 1, 1955, devoting four-fifths of her time to her work with the project. Up to December 31, 1955, she has received the sum of \$2,999.97.

On October 19, 1955, I requested an additional \$200 to cover local transportation and other miscellaneous expenses, such as telephone expenses, mailing, etc. This sum was accorded to the project, also with the provision, that it will be drawn from the currently available funds.

In the progress report of October 10, 1955, I have enumerated the various facets of the development of project activities and I attempted to show the multiplicity of involvements of the research staff related to collection of data needed for successful completion of the project. I would like to emphasize that in order to collect the necessary information for the rehabilitation study, we have decided to collect information not only from patients but also from all the people directly or indirectly involved with rehabilitation, such as family members, doctors, therapists, and nurses. This task was far beyond the capacities of one person, especially as it involved not only interviewing of respondents but also constant participant observation on the rehabilitation wards and in the therapy clinics, presence at team conferences, followup visits to the patients' homes, which often were quite time consuming. Therefore, when the project was allowed to add one more person to the research staff, we were in a position to organize better our work in terms of a systematic division of labor between myself and my research assistant.

During the past year, Miss Wang concentrated her work primarily on interviewing the patients, members of their families in their homes, and home followups with the patients who had been discharged from the hospital, in order to investigate the efficacy of the hospital program and the modes of adjustment of the patient to life in society. At the same time, I was involved primarily in working with the hospital staff members, namely interviewing members of professions (doctors, therapists, social workers, vocational counselors, etc.); preparing and conducting research seminars; self-study meetings with the social workers and nurses; presence at team conferences where the rehabilitation programs for patients were planned and evaluated; and, finally, observation of the program in action on the wards and in the clinics.

As of to date we have collected the following number of interviews with patients, patients' families and members of the staff:

Family interviews.....	92
Patient interviews:	
Paraplegics.....	46
Hemiplegics.....	35
Quadriplegics.....	19
Amputees.....	23
Others.....	28
Total patient interviews.....	151
PMRS interviews:	
Doctors.....	6
Physical therapists.....	9
Corrective therapists.....	10
Occupational therapists (complete staff).....	13
Manual art therapists (complete staff).....	6
Total PMRS interviews.....	44
Nurses' interviews.....	55
Total interviews.....	342

As of this date, we had the following number of reports from service:

Social service.....	80
Vocational counseling.....	46
Psychology.....	28

In addition, during the year, we had on the average 2 monthly meetings of the research seminar and 2 monthly meetings of the social service self-study group.

The complexity of our work, which was described above, will not decrease in the future. On the contrary, it will increase because of the need to complete the interviewing, organize the collected material, coding of the interviews, and transferring them on the key sort cards. Therefore, I would appreciate making permanent the allocation of the salary of Miss Wang and the sum of \$200 yearly for miscellaneous expenses, until the completion of the project.

The total sum which I request from the Russell Sage Foundation in addition to the original grant would be the following:

Miss Dorly Wang's salary for 1955.....	\$2, 999. 97
Miss Dorly Wang's salary for 1956.....	4, 000. 00
Miscellaneous expenses for 1955.....	200. 00
Miscellaneous expenses for 1956.....	200. 00
Total.....	7, 399. 97

EXHIBIT No. 17

OFFICE OF RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION,
New York, N. Y., February 15, 1956.

Dr. MARK ZBOROWSKI,
Veterans' Administration Hospital,
Bronx, N. Y.

DEAR DR. ZBOROWSKI: This letter is in formal confirmation of my telephone call last Friday telling you that our board of trustees' meeting on Thursday, February 9, allocated the sum of \$7,400 for expenditure in connection with your study of the rehabilitation of the disabled, in accordance with the budget given in your letter to me of January 24, 1956. This supplementary appropriation is subject to the same terms as those outlined in my letter of February 17, 1954, telling you of our favorable action on your original proposal.

In accordance with our regular procedure, a carbon of this letter is enclosed for your signature so that we may have a formal record of your acceptance.

All of us here are very much pleased that our trustees agreed with us that supplementary funds were necessary for the proper continuation of your study.

With best personal wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

DONALD YOUNG.

EXHIBIT No. 18

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH,
Bethesda 14, Md., February 24, 1956.

Mr. BENJAMIN MANDEL,
Research Director, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. MANDEL: In accordance with your telephone request of today, I am furnishing the following information from our files concerning research grant support to Dr. Mark Zborowski:

Grant No.	Amount	Grant period
MH-453.....	\$7,776	Sept. 1, 1951, to Aug. 31, 1952.
MH-453 (C).....	13,618	Sept. 1, 1952, to Aug. 31, 1953.
MH-453 (C2).....	13,618	Sept. 1, 1953, to Aug. 31, 1954.

Request for support in behalf of Dr. Zborowski was submitted by the Institute for Intercultural Studies, Bronx, N. Y., over the signature of Lawrence K. Frank, treasurer, Institute for Intercultural Studies, American Museum of Natural History. The application was reviewed by the mental health study section, comprised of 20 nongovernmental special consultants expert in the field, and by the National Advisory Mental Health Council which was established by law to advise the Surgeon General as to which applications merit support. A résumé of the project is attached on our form entitled, "Notice of Research Project." Additional attachments list the names and addresses of the members of the study section and council which reviewed the application.

Sincerely yours,

ERNEST M. ALLEN,
Chief, Division of Research Grants.

EXHIBIT No. 19

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY,
Washington 25, D. C., February 27, 1956.

Mr. BENJAMIN MANDEL,
Senate Internal Security Committee,
Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. MANDEL: In reply to your telephone request of February 24, the following information is submitted:

Mark Zborowski, Ph. D., 2451 Webb Avenue, Bronx, N. Y., is employed by the Russell Sage Foundation. He is not an employee of the Veterans' Administration but serves on an informal basis as a research fellow in the physical medicine section at VA hospital, Bronx, N. Y. Dr. Zborowski is engaged in social-psychological studies attempting to evaluate the response to pain among ethnic groups. Four studies are currently underway on the following subjects:

- (1) Social-economic relationship of the hospital patient after leaving the hospital.
- (2) The patient-doctor relationship.
- (3) Patient relationship to the community.
- (4) Anthropology of pain.

The manager of VA hospital, Bronx, N. Y., Dr. Endre K. Brunner, informs us that Dr. Zborowski's work has proved helpful to the doctors and nurses by giving them a better understanding of the doctor-patient relationship.

Since Dr. Zborowski is not an employee of the Veterans' Administration and is working at the VA hospital Bronx, N. Y., on an informal relationship without compensation it will be possible to terminate this arrangement at any time without formal personnel action. I hope this information will prove to be useful to you.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM S. MIDDLETON, M. D.,
Chief, Medical Director.

Mr. MORRIS. Counsel, in the event that we may have to call this witness back, will he be made available by phone call?

Mr. GREENBERG. Under the same situation as before, Judge. I would be happy, as a courtesy both to the committee and Mr. Zborowski, to communicate with him in New York, and I am sure he is available.

Mr. MORRIS. We thank you for your cooperation.

Senator JENNER. You may be excused.

Mr. GREENBERG. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. Next witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Lilia Dallin, please.

Senator JENNER. Will you be sworn to testify?

Do you swear that the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. DALLIN. I do.

Senator JENNER. Will you have a seat?

TESTIMONY OF MRS. LILIA DALLIN, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter, Mrs. Dallin?

Mrs. DALLIN. My name is Lilia Dallin, 310 West 106th Street, New York 25, N. Y. And the telephone number is Monument 2-1947.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mrs. Dallin, are you the wife of David Dallin, the author?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes, I am.

Mr. MORRIS. What is Mr. Dallin's latest book?

Mrs. DALLIN. On Soviet espionage.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. He has written that book during the period of the last 3 or 4 years, has he not?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes. And I was helping him in his work.

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon? You assisted him in his work?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, has Mr. Dallin written any other books?

Mrs. DALLIN. Oh, Mr. Dallin has written altogether nine books.

Mr. MORRIS. And he is generally considered to be an expert on Soviet affairs?

Mrs. DALLIN. On Soviet affairs; that is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you helped him in all this work?

Mrs. DALLIN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mrs. Dallin, your name has come up in the testimony of the preceding witness, Mr. Zborowski.

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I believe you were in the committee room here during all of that testimony; is that right?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You know this man, do you not?

Mrs. DALLIN. Oh, yes; certainly.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you first meet Mr. Zborowski?

Mrs. DALLIN. I met first Mr. Zborowski in 1935 in Paris and since that time, till the time I found out that he is an agent of NKVD, I considered him a very good friend of mine, and I was a very good friend of his.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, will you tell us the circumstances of your first meeting him?

Mrs. DALLIN. Mr. Leon Sedov, the son of Leon Trotsky, presented me to Mr. Zborowski.

Mr. MORRIS. And will you try to tell us where and when?

Mrs. DALLIN. I don't remember exactly, but I think it was in a place, in a printing shop, where we were sending out the Russian bulletins, the Trotsky Russian bulletin to the subscribers. So he asked me for the first time to come and help him, and there I met Zborowski. I am not 100 percent sure. Maybe it was in another shop.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you go a little more slowly?

Mrs. DALLIN. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you go a little more slowly?

Mrs. DALLIN. Okay.

Mr. MORRIS. Proceed.

Mrs. DALLIN. Since that time, I became more friendly with him since 1936, but I used to meet him, not very often, in Paris, only when we sent out the bulletins to the subscribers. Since 1936, the summer of 1936, it was the first time when he came to my house in France. Since that time, we were very close friends, and we were working together and meeting very often, I think every day, in Paris, and then later on, here in the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you, of course, had no inkling of the fact that he was reporting back to the NKVD?

Mrs. DALLIN. No, I had not.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you repose in him a great deal of trust and confidence, Mrs. Dallin?

Mrs. DALLIN. Absolutely. I trusted him. I never doubted about it. And when once the rumor came out, I defended him, like everybody defends his friend.

Mr. MORRIS. When did the rumor first come out?

Mrs. DALLIN. The first rumor that I heard about it, was in the summer of 1939, when I visited Mr. Leon Trotsky in Mexico. He had received an unsigned letter from a man who told him that the closest friend of his son, not mentioning his name, saying only "Mark", is an agent of the NKVD. The letter was rather unpleasant because it has too many details, and it was stated in the letter, as far as I remember, that, "You tell somebody of your friends in Paris to follow the man, and you will see where he reports, with whom he meets, what he is doing."

And when Mr. Trotsky showed me this letter and asked my opinion about him, I felt a little bit uncomfortable, because the details were very unpleasant. Too many of them were in the letter. And then I thought it over and I talked it over with him, and I said, "That is certainly a definitely dirty job of the NKVD, who wants to deprive you of your few collaborators that you have in France."

And, at the same time, he had another letter from another unnamed agent, telling him that a woman, meaning me, is coming to visit him, and will poison him.

So we both decided, "See how they work? They want that you shall break with the only people that are left, over in France, Russians, let us say, in France, in Paris." And we decided that it isn't to be taken seriously, but it was a hoax of NKVD.

Mr. MORRIS. And you so advised him?

Mrs. DALLIN. And when I came back to Paris, the first thing I did, I told Mr. Zborowski.

Mr. MORRIS. You told Mr. Zborowski?

Mrs. DALLIN. Oh, yes; I told him immediately about it.

Mr. MORRIS. And what did he say about it?

Mrs. DALLIN. Oh, he laughed it off. He said, "You know how the NKVD works. They are trying to smear you. They are trying to smear you." And it was very convincing. I trusted him, you see.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you recall yesterday the testimony concerning the theft of the Trotsky archives from the Institute of Yivo?

Mrs. DALLIN. That is right. I was secretary of the institute when Mr. Nicolaevsky was the chief, the head of that institute.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would spell Mr. Nicolaevsky's name for the record.

Mrs. DALLIN. N-i-c-o-l-a-e-v-s-k-y; Boris Nicolaevsky. He was the head of the institute, the International Institute for Social History, and I was the secretary of that institute.

Senator JENNER. Was this in Paris?

Mrs. DALLIN. In Paris, 7 Rue Michelet, in Paris. You see, we decided that it would be safer to bring Mr. Trotsky's archives to the institute, that they would be better guarded there and therefore—

Mr. MORRIS. Now, where had they been at the time?

Mrs. DALLIN. In my house.

Mr. MORRIS. In your house?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes; not in the apartment, but somewhere on the upper floor, the house where I lived in Paris. And we decided to take all the bundles and bring it over to the institute. The institute was not yet open for the public, you see. It was only in the process of organization at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, physically, how many volumes?

Mrs. DALLIN. We made together, I and Zborowski together. We made 15 bundles, of such a size, each bundle was this size.

Mr. MORRIS. Indicating an area there about 14 inches by 12 inches?

Mrs. DALLIN. That is it. And they were all alike. And then we put them in brown paper. We bundled them, and made some marks on it with a red pencil from 1 to 15, and we both took a taxi and brought it over to the institute on Rue Michelet.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how many people knew that the archives of Trotsky were being moved to the institute of Boris Nicolaevsky?

Mrs. DALLIN. Sedov, Nicolaevsky, Zborowski, and myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Just four?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes. And then a short time afterwards, still when the institute was not yet open for the public, you see—there was later a library where people used to come, but it was not yet organized for the public—the NKVD broke in during the night from 6 to 7 November of 1936. They cut out a piece of the door from the back—how is it? From the backstairs down. There are two stairs in Europe, always, the front stairs and the backstairs, and they went into the room and, according to the police, they spent there a few hours.

Mr. MORRIS. They what?

Mrs. DALLIN. They spent there a few hours, according to the police.

Mr. MORRIS. According to the police, the people who broke in spent several hours there?

Mrs. DALLIN. Several hours there. There were five rooms in the place.

Mr. MORRIS. Five rooms?

Mr. DALLIN. Yes. So they went first to my room where I was working. There was money on the table. They didn't touch anything. Then they went to the big room, which was supposed to be, later on, a public room for people who wanted to consult the library, and then, to the left, was Mr. Nicolaevsky's working room, his study, and he had a tremendous amount of paper piled there, because he has a big archives, and he is very much interested in history.

So they looked over every bit of paper, put it on the floor, took it off of the shelf, put it on the floor exactly the way they took it off, and certainly looked it through, to read everything, and then went to the last room where they found the archives. They found the 15 bundles because they certainly knew from Mr. Zborowski, they found out now, how they looked, and they were numbered, all of them. They took only these 15 bundles, nothing else; no money, no papers, nothing, and left.

In the morning, early, when Nicolaevsky came into the office, he phoned me about it. We informed the police and then began an investigation. And it was a riddle to us. Who could have told the NKVD that these papers were delivered to the institute?

I discussed it many times with Mr. Zborowski, and he said, "You know, it may be the driver of the taxi that we took."

I said, "Now, how can he know that we—what we were transporting in the taxi? We didn't talk about this."

And finally, that was a riddle that was solved only now, because Mr. Zborowski himself admitted in his conversation with me on October 3 that he reported on the archives and, if you wish, I have here a short translation of the statement that he made to me in the presence of Mr. Dallin and a common friend of ours—

Mr. MORRIS. What is the date of this?

Mrs. DALLIN. The 3d of October of 1955. It was the only time when I saw Mr. Zborowski after I found out that he is an agent of the NKVD.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now will you tell us what is says?

Mrs. DALLIN. He said that:

I reported to my NKVD chief on the transfer of Trotsky's archives to the International Institute for Social History, 7 Rue Michelet, Paris. When I heard about the committed burglary, I rushed to my chief and vehemently protested because this could expose me as an NKVD spy. Only four persons knew the archives' whereabouts and I was one of them. The three others were out of the question. The answer—

Mr. MORRIS. Now just a minute. You are now quoting what?

Mrs. DALLIN. What he told me.

Mr. MORRIS. What Mr. Zborowsky told you, when he met you on October 3, 1955, explaining his story?

Mrs. DALLIN. That is right. When he met us and told me his story. When we left, I wrote the whole thing down on a Russian typewriter. There were 12 pages, and these were a few excerpts from these pages [continuing the reading]:

the answer which I received was, "we never inform our agents about a forthcoming operation because, being nervous, they may betray us. Besides we had to get hold of the documents that night (it was the anniversary of the November Revolution, November 7, 1936) to make in this way a present to Stalin."

That is what he told us.

Mrs. MORRIS. Now, Mrs. Dallin, do you recall the circumstances, any circumstances, surrounding the death of Ignace Reiss?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes; I certainly do.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us your own recollection of the assassination of Ignace Reiss?

Mrs. DALLIN. You see, Ignace Reiss was murdered on September 4, 1937, near Lausanne in Switzerland.

Mr. MORRIS. Near Lausanne in Switzerland.

Mrs. DALLIN. The story was the following:

He was a high ranking official of the NKVD, and broke with the NKVD in the summer of 1937. He wrote a letter to the central committee of the Communist Party, telling them that he didn't consider himself any more Communist, and he returns his orders that he got from them, and that he breaks with them officially and wants to join the Fourth International, the Trotskyite movement, and fight for his ideals.

And he wanted to meet Lev ¹ Sedov in order to establish contact with Leon Trotsky. It was a rather complicated business among the Trotskyites, different factions, and a man of another faction was his first contact. So it was a little bit complicated, and Sedov never saw Mr. Ignace Reiss. Only it was arranged that they would meet in the city of Reims, in France, on the 5th of September 1937, meaning the day after he was killed. That was arranged previously before the whole thing happened.

About this meeting knew only 5 persons, I think—maybe 6—and all of them except me and Zborowski are dead.

Mr. MORRIS. How many people?

Mrs. DALLIN. One second. Sedov——

Mr. MORRIS. What is the second name?

Mrs. DALLIN. You see, the first man was Mr. Snevliet, a rather well-known man in Holland. He was a leader of the leftist Communist trade union, and he used to be a Communist, and then he broke with the official Communist Party and was connected with Mr. Trotsky, but later on broke with Trotsky, too, and had a group of his own.

So when Mr. Reiss wanted to break with the Soviet Government, and was looking for contacts, he went to Snevliet in Holland, because Snevliet was the only man whom he knew.

Is it clear?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Now, who is the second man?

Mrs. DALLIN. The second man whom he was supposed to meet was Victor Serge. He is a rather known writer, who wrote many books about the Soviet Union, against the Soviet Government. He was arrested in Russia and stayed there until 1936, and then came out and went abroad.

The third one was Mr. Reiss himself, who was supposed to come to the meeting. The fourth one was Leon Sedov, who passed away in 1938; and I and Zborowski knew from Sedov about the meeting, but we did not know Reiss' name, you see.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not know what?

Mrs. DALLIN. The name of Mr. Reiss, we didn't know.

Mr. MORRIS. You didn't know Reiss' name?

¹ A nickname or abbreviation for Leon.

Mrs. DALLIN. No. Sedov told us that a very high-ranking official broke with NKVD, but never gave us the name.

Mr. MORRIS. And you recall that Sedov told that to Zborowski?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes. You see, Sedov went on vacation, and we were supposed to watch developments, and he was supposed on his vacation to come to Reims. And later on, the Swiss police and the French police found out that a group of killers were waiting in Reims to assassinate Reiss, or I don't know whom else, out in Lausanne, you see. So this is the only thing that he and I knew, and one of us had to tell the NKVD, because the NKVD could not know that Reiss would come to Reims, you see, and when Reiss was murdered, they found in his pocket a ticket to Reims, because he was supposed, after the meeting, to go to Reims, to take the train and go to Reims.

But another group of killers was waiting there, but he was already dead by that time.

So Mr. Zborowski made a mess——

Mr. MORRIS. What? I did not understand it.

Mrs. DALLIN. He made a mess when he mixed up Mulhouse and Reims. That is two different things. One was in September 1937, and the other was in January 1937. And it is 2 different cities and 2 different places and 2 different situations, completely different situations.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, on this meeting of October 3, 1955, did Mr. Zborowski tell you how he came to be involved in the NKVD and the general nature of his work?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes. He told us——

Mr. MORRIS. Now, at the outset, did he tell you at this time that he had been a Communist?

Mrs. DALLIN. You see, he told you yesterday it was a lie. And I don't know when it was a lie and when it was not a lie. He told me his story, that he was——

Mr. MORRIS. Let me be sure I understand that. You do not know whether the fact of the matter was a lie, but you do know that what he told you was the truth?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes; that is it. But I don't know when he was lying. That I can't tell you, because nobody else told me the same thing; only he.

Mr. MORRIS. What did he tell you?

Mrs. DALLIN. Again if you want, I can read you again an excerpt of his own statement. He said:

Until the end of 1936, I was 100 percent Stalinist Communist and worked as an agent of the NKVD among the Trotskyites. I was inspired by the idea of helping the Soviet Union in exposing the Trotskyites as counterrevolutionists, conspirators, agents of the German Nazis, who had set for themselves the goal to overthrow the Soviet Government.

My first-ranking NKVD superior was a Polish Communist whose name I don't know. He had gray hair and was an intellectual; he was very kind to me and showed much understanding.

Am I reading too fast?

Mr. MORRIS. No. That is all right.

Mrs. DALLIN (continuing):

Sometimes his wife appeared with him; she was a pretty, blond Polish woman. It was this Polish Communist who gave me the first instructions, how to proceed, and told me what kind of help the NKVD expected from me. The Trotskyites, he said, are a dangerous group and it is absolutely necessary to have a man in

their midst to report about their plans. The way to reach the center of the Trotskyites, according to my chief, was first to join the comparatively large French group of Trotskyites.

I followed his advice and for a time worked among the French Trotskyites. My cover name was Etienne. On every move I reported to my NKVD chief.

In 1935 I was ordered to try to contact Lev Sedov, Trotsky's son, in Paris. This proved rather easy since Sedov's wife was an active member of the French Trotskyite group. Before that I had not known of Sedov's existence. Soon I was among Sedov's confidants.

At the same time I used to meet my NKVD contacts once a week or once in 10 days. Our meetings took place usually in cafes. The place and time were always set at the preceding meeting. When I had some important information for the NKVD I used to phone to the Soviet Embassy, ask for a certain name—it sounded like an Armenian name, I don't remember it—and identified myself as Mark or Etienne, then the meeting took place the following day.

At the end of each meeting I was asked whether I needed money. I used to say "No," but I was given 200 or 300 francs and, each time, I signed a receipt either by the name of Etienne or Mark.

In 1936, after my Polish chief left, my superior was a new, less efficient NKVD man. One day a conference was arranged with a high NKVD officer from Moscow; I assume that this was the notorious Spieglass, assistant chief of the foreign department of the NKVD.

Another new person—my future chief for over 2 years—whose name I don't know, was present. He looked like a Georgian or Armenian—dark, slim, and spoke Russian with a slight Caucasian accent. As I found out later, this was a time when the preparation started for the first big Moscow trial.

The guest from Moscow was very much displeased with the scope of my work and demanded more activity and better results. The meetings became more frequent. The work under the new chief continued until Sedov's death.

Now, this is what he told me at that time, on October 3, in the presence of Mr. Dallin and another friend of ours.

MR. MORRIS. Now, was this the first explanation he gave you of this?

MRS. DALLIN. The first explanation; the first and the last.

MR. MORRIS. Now, Mrs. Dallin, when had you seen him, prior to October 3, 1955?

MRS. DALLIN. I think it was at the end of 1952, or maybe the first day of January 1953. We used to live first in the same house with him. Then I used to see him rather often, then not so often, but not less than 3 or 4 times a year he used to come to us and spend an evening with us. In January, or even in December 1952, or the beginning of January 1953, he came to our house to say goodbye to me, because we were leaving for Europe. We left on the 10th of January 1953, for Europe, and we came back only on November 3, 1953.

When I came back, I was very busy the first few days, and I phoned him on November 8, 1953. He was really enraged—how could I be 5 days in the United States and not phone him?

I apologized. I said I was very busy, and I said, "Let's make out a day when you will come over and we will talk everything over."

So he said, "You know, I am very busy."

He told me all about himself and the family. Then he said, "I am very busy this week, but next week I will phone you and I will come immediately." And he never phoned me again and never came.

I was so amazed. I didn't have any idea or any suspicion, but it was so strange to me that he forgot, and he didn't see me a whole year. So I decided, I won't call him if he won't call, and I never have spoken to him until October 3, 1955.

I was so much interested. And you know, it bothered me the whole time, why didn't he call me? So I consulted different people who

knew him, let's say my late brother, a psychiatrist, who had one explanation, and then a high NKVD official, from whom I knew the story that he is an agent, and he told me, "I have no other explanation than that he got an order to break off relations with all his old friends, because it doesn't make sense otherwise."

Mr. MORRIS. That is only an explanation?

Mrs. DALLIN. I asked him when I saw him in 1955, "Why didn't you call me?"

He said, "Oh, you know, I was busy." And it sounded so non-committal that I stopped insisting. It wasn't so interesting what he was telling me.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Dallin, you did help bring Mr. Zborowski into the country, did you not?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And what did you do? What steps did you take?

Mrs. DALLIN. First of all, I procured an affidavit for him, and since it was a family of three persons, I needed a very good affidavit. So I approached my uncle, who is a rather wealthy man, and he, not knowing Zborowski, and not knowing anything, gave him the affidavit, or gave me the affidavit for him, and I placed all the papers, and I obtained a visa here, and then he came over. And I sent him money when he was in France, and I was in contact with him in France, too, when he came over.

When he came over, he was detained, not at Ellis Island, but at Philadelphia. I don't know how they call the place in Philadelphia. And I left, immediately, New York and went over to see him in the place he was detained for a couple of days, or a couple of weeks, I think, even, because he arrived the 15th, and he was free only on the 30th or the 31st of December, when he came to New York. And, naturally, I found him a place to live, and I saw him very often, and since that time I saw him, all of a sudden he moved into the same building that we lived in. From Seagate, he all of a sudden appeared and said, "You know, I found an apartment in your house." That was in 1943, you know.

So he lived for about a year in the same building, and we saw each other very often, and you see, naturally, I didn't suspect him of being an agent. And the first time when I found out really that he was an agent was the beginning of 1954, when this same ex-high-ranking official of the NKVD had met Mr. Dallin and told him.

Mr. Dallin asked about how well the Russian Socialists were covered by the NKVD, and he said, "I don't know anything about the Socialists, but I knew that the Trotskyites were covered excellently, because the closest friend of Trotsky's son was an agent."

When Mr. Dallin came home, I refused to believe. I said "It can't be. It must be a misunderstanding." And when I met the man for the first time, myself, and we sat down for hours and were talking, and he told me about the report that he was reading, and he has an excellent memory and knows the names—

Mr. MORRIS. Now, just for the interests of clarity for the record, this man, Senator, whom Mrs. Dallin is describing, is a man who was the ex-Soviet chief, an ex-Soviet intelligence man.

He is a man whose testimony appears in our executive record, but he is a man whose identity we have not yet made known until such time as he testifies following you [Mrs. Dallin].

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes; that is the same man.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Mrs. DALLIN. And he sat down, and he told me such small details, nobody could have known it; what Sedov wrote to his father in a letter, which nobody knew except me and Zborowski, because I was typing the letter and we were discussing the letter.

Mr. MORRIS. And this former Soviet agent knew all of these intimate details?

Mrs. DALLIN. All these in detail. And he knew all these addresses, and names. Let's say, for instance, he told me a little story that only I knew, of Zborowski and Sedov, that when Sedov bought the paper in Paris in August 1936, and found out that Zinoviev and Kamenev were executed—this was the first big public Moscow trial in August 1936—Sedov bought the paper and found out they were executed, and in the street, started to cry. They came both together to my house, and Sedov didn't say a word about it, but Zborowski immediately called me out of the room and told me, "Did you see? He cried like a child."

And he reported that to the NKVD, because the NKVD man told me the same story. "Is it true," he said, "that Sedov cried like a child when he bought a paper and found out so-and-so?"

There were so many details that I couldn't doubt any longer.

Mr. MORRIS. You could not doubt it any longer?

Mrs. DALLIN. Oh, no. That was the end.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, here was a man, a former Soviet intelligence man, telling you intimate, detailed stories?

Mrs. DALLIN. Many. You know, he told me where Krivitsky spent this night and where he went to look for his things. You see, he can't know it unless—and he said that he read the reports from Zborowski. Therefore, he knew all the names and all the details.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he tell you that he had read Zborowski's reports in Moscow?

Mrs. DALLIN. No; in Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. In Paris, while he was NKVD chief?

Mrs. DALLIN. While he was an NKVD chief there. And he read it, and he told me.

You know, when Zborowski told us the story, I was rather confused. You know, I thought maybe he is telling us partly at least the truth, and I met the man again, and I checked with him, and I say that he was lying again like a trooper.

Mr. MORRIS. For instance, would you tell us specifically?

Mrs. DALLIN. Let us say, for instance, he described us his chief. He described to us his chief, as a slim-built, little dark man, a Georgian or an Armenian who spoke with a slight accent. It was his chief for 2½ years. But from this man I know that his chief for 2½ years was the same as Mr. Alexeev. It was the same as he pretends he doesn't know. Maybe he doesn't know his name. But Mr. Zborowski knew the man. I doubted that he didn't know his name. He was a solid fellow, heavy built.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, the description did not fit at all the description that he gave you?

Mrs. DALLIN. The description didn't fit what he told me or told you yesterday. Let us say he didn't know the name, Senator. I can believe that he would give him a fake name or something. But he knew how the man looked. And when I checked it again—

Mr. MORRIS. You say the description is directly contrary to a description that this other gentleman gave you?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes. And then forgets everything. He has a very good memory. He can't remember. The man was calling, yesterday he said, once or twice to the embassy, an Armenian name. He told us he was calling only when he had something important to report. And he doesn't remember the name where he was calling. To me, it doesn't make sense.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mrs. Dallin, did he ever tell you that he had false papers?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes. You know, when the story of the archives story came out, the French police started to investigate the whole matter. So he rushed to me and asked me, "Do what you can. Don't name me to the police, because my papers are false. And they will find it out, and I am lost."

I said, "I can't do it. How can I do it? I will try to protect you, but I can't hide it, because you were one of the men that brought it over. If you start misleading them, it won't work out at all."

Then when he got his papers here, he told me, "Imagine how happy I am. Finally, I have decent, real papers, and United States papers." And when he came to us—

Mr. MORRIS. When did he say that, Mrs. Dallin?

Mrs. DALLIN. When he got the papers in 1947, when he became naturalized.

Mr. MORRIS. He told you that?

Mrs. DALLIN. He told me that. And when he came to us—

Mr. MORRIS. Just a minute, now. Did he tell anyone else about it?

Mrs. DALLIN. I don't know. He told me. I don't know whether somebody was present.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Mr. Dallin there?

Mrs. DALLIN. I don't remember. You see, Mr. Dallin was not always present, because Mr. Dallin was not on such good terms with him. We were sitting drinking tea, and he went to his room to work, and we continued the conversation, but he wasn't always present.

Mr. MORRIS. But he said to you at that time—

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes, "I am so happy. I am so happy." And when I asked him, when he came on the 3d of October, it was very interesting to me what was the story.

He said, "You are wrong. I never told you such a thing."

I said, "Listen. I am sure you told me."

So he said, "You know what? The papers weren't false. I only forgot to extend my papers. So they were a little bit—I had to pay a bit of money that they shall be in order."

This I don't believe, because for a foreigner to have papers which are not in order in France was a hell of a job. You know, it was so unpleasant to be not—the foreigners in France are not like here. They can't become French citizens, let us say. They are still foreigners, always, and the police are not always very nice to them. So you see, everybody was watching—that he forgot to extend his papers, and they didn't do anything, I don't think so. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Dallin, did he also tell you that he had been a Communist and had been arrested in Poland?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes, that is his story.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you recall that conversation for us?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes. He told me in 1936 or 1937, when we were talking about, "What have you been doing," he said, as I understood it, he was with the Communist movement. But I am not sure about it. He said, "I was a Communist in Poland, and I was very active, because I was an idealist and I wanted to fight for a good cause. My parents, who were reactionary," as he said, "were very much against my activities. And I was hiding from them the whole story."

So once during the night, when he was pasting some leaflets on the walls in Lotz, Poland, he was arrested, and he was treated very badly. He was beaten up many times then, and he was hating things. His father was so mad that he never visited him at the jail, he said. But his mother had pity with him. And finally they let him out on bail. So he jumped bail and went to France. That was his story.

Yesterday he confirmed that it was a lie. He wanted to cover up. I can't tell you whether it is true or not. I know only what he told me. And I never checked on it, because I believed him. I didn't have to check him.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did he write for any publications in Paris?

Mrs. DALLIN. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Did he write for any publications?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes, for the Russian bulletin, but not much.

Mr. MORRIS. What name did he use?

Mrs. DALLIN. He used either Etienne——

Mr. MORRIS. That is E-t-i-e-n-n-e?

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes. In Russian it is spelled different. It is E-t-e-n. It isn't like in French it is spelled, but it is the same pronunciation of the name, Etienne, and then sometimes he wrote under the initial of "T."

Mr. MORRIS. Just the initial "T."

Mrs. DALLIN. "T." And once or twice he wrote "Tienov." It was also from the name Etienne, made out in Russian, Tienov.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what did he tell you he did, to earn a living?

Mrs. DALLIN. He told me—I never saw him working, you see. And I was always amazed, how can a person live with a family without working.

So he told me that he works for a man who built radios, and is a seasonal worker, and he works 4 or 6 months, and then the next 6 months it is enough for him to cover his expenses.

Finally, I never saw when the 6 months was. So I said, "What's the matter with you? Did you lose your job?"

He said, "Yes, I lost my job."

I said, "How do you live now?"

He said, "You know, my mother died in Poland and she left some money, and I am getting every month money from my mother, and thus I can go to the Sorbonne and study at the university, and I have enough money to cover it, modestly."

They lived very modestly, always, as far as I know.

"And I can study at the Sorbonne."

I was very happy for him, not thinking that the money came from the NKVD, naturally.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, are there any other facts that you know of, Mrs. Dallin, that would help the committee in trying to analyze the nature of his activities?

Mrs. DALLIN. I am afraid that there are so many facts that we can sit until tomorrow and we won't finish them. What he told you, let

us say here, either he makes it up or it doesn't correspond to the facts at all, you see, what he told you, how he found out for the first time from Mrs. Bernaut, that he was an agent.

Mrs. Bernaut didn't know it herself.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that?

Mrs. DALLIN. You see, Mrs. Bernaut is our friend, a mutual friend, a very good friend of mine, and a friend of Zborowski's, but much closer to me than to him. So when I found out from the NKVD man that he is an agent, I wanted to tell her, but they insisted, Mr. Dallin and the rest, I shall not tell her. Nobody is supposed to know it.

And since you know, her husband was killed, and the whole business, and she was very much involved, they said don't tell her.

So she didn't know anything. One day the FBI came to her and asked her—you know they are making the usual checks—"What do you know about Mr. Zborowski?" He was investigated for a job.

So she said what she knows and then she called him up and said, "Let's meet in a cafe."

So he met her, and she told him, you know, "The FBI is asking questions about you. Probably you have applied for a Government job. And how are you getting along?"

He said, "I am fine, and everything is wonderful. Until today when you told me about the interrogation, I felt really happy."

She didn't know exactly why he should be unhappy. The FBI is interrogating everybody, whether working for hospital jobs or not, and she didn't know anything.

When I came back to Washington, she told me the story. No, the story was even worse. The FBI followed his car and saw that he brought her to his car.

Mr. MORRIS. The FBI?

Mrs. DALLIN. Followed. You see, they met in a cafe, and then Zborowski brought Mrs. Bernaut home in his car, and the next day, the FBI, or a few days—

Mr. MORRIS. The next day? I did not understand that.

Mrs. DALLIN. The next day, the FBI, or a few days later the FBI asked her, "Did you see Zborowski?"

She said, "No."

So they said, "But we saw you."

She didn't know anything, that he was an agent, nothing. You see, maybe she forgot about it. So she called me here from Washington and told me the story, and I told her, "You know, we suspect that he was an agent."

So she called up the FBI and said, "My God, I didn't know. I had no idea." But she didn't say a word to Zborowski about it. He knew why they were investigating him, but she didn't know.

That was the first time that he was warned that the FBI was closing around him, and I am sure that at that time he stopped his work for the NKVD.

But that is only a supposition, I don't know.

So the story that he told you, that she saw him afterward, in 1955, at a party at Miss Margaret Mead's house and asked him, in 1955—

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Margaret Mead?

Mrs. DALLIN. Margaret Mead is an anthropologist.

Mr. MORRIS. She was head of the project?

Mrs. DALLIN. She was head of the project, but after the death of Ruth Benedict. So they meet in 1955 at a party in her house. When they met in 1955 at a party in her house, Mrs Bernaut told him, "Listen, Mark, there are very bad rumors that you were mixed up in the NKVD thing."

And he denied it emphatically. He said, "It is a lie. How dare you talk to me this way?"

And he was, you know, outraged, when she told him.

Probably it was before, or after, he was called to the FBI. That I don't know. And the same thing was—there was the same employee from the Jewish committee. I saw him first.

Mr. MORRIS. You saw the employee?

Mrs. DALLIN. He came to me, this man—Mr.—what's his name; he gave you the name. Mr.—

Mr. MORRIS. Sklare.

Mrs. DALLIN. Sklare; that is right. So he came to me in the summer of 1955 and said, "I heard such rumors that he is an NKVD man. I don't know anything about it, but I heard that the rumors are coming from you."

So I said, "Yes, it is true."

He said, "We are working together on a book."

I said, "If I were you, I wouldn't publish a book with a former NKVD agent. But it is up to you to decide."

He was a good friend of Zborowski and was admiring him very much. So he decided to go to Zborowski's summer place in Connecticut and talk it over with him. Afterwards, I asked him, "It is none of my business, but if you want to be nice, tell me what happened."

He phoned me and said that he denied it, and he said, "You see, I am still having my job, my grant, everything, and, if I were an agent, they would deprive me of those things. So it isn't true, but you can act as you wish."

I don't know who was lying, who was not lying. I cannot tell you. I can only tell you what I was told.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mrs.—

Mrs. DALLIN. And he was denying it the whole time.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mrs. Dallin, do you remember a party that we adverted to in the testimony today? The occasion was the 10th anniversary of his arrival in the United States.

Mrs. DALLIN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what you recall about that party?

Mrs. DALLIN. That was the only time that I was in his Bronx apartment. He invited us to his apartment in the Bronx. I was never in his house since he moved away from 108th Street. So he invited Mr. Dallin and me to come to the party. I pleaded with him that I hate parties, and I don't want to go. But he said, "It is impossible. You brought me over to the United States. You are the main person. You must come. This time make an exception."

So I came to the party, and there was Margaret Mead and many anthropologists, and this one fellow talked Russian, who talked with us, whom you mentioned, whom you asked him about today.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, the American, naturalized.

Mrs. DALLIN. An American who said he was going to Russia, coming back from Russia, and making business in Russia, and telling us

it was rather nice in Russia, not so bad as we thought. We were interested because we were always interested to get some news from Russia.

Mr. MORRIS. And this was in December 1951?

Mrs. DALLIN. December 1951; that is it, yes. So he told us, and that was all, and Margaret Mead was there. You know how it is at parties.

Mr. MORRIS. Did it occur to you as unusual that a man in December 1951 should be——

Mrs. DALLIN. It was strange. Especially Mr. Dallin talked with me later on; he said, "How strange it is. What kind of fellow is this. He tells us stories how wonderful life is in Russia, when he knows that life in 1951 wasn't wonderful at all."

So I said, "You know, I have always the strange feeling that he meets some people who don't belong to him."

And I even asked him once, "Why do you meet such people like the merchants? You don't have anything in common with them."

He said, "You know, my wife likes them. They are friends of hers. And I don't like to make an issue out of it. I am bored, but I meet them."

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything else, Mrs. Dallin, of extraordinary content that you should mention here?

Mrs. DALLIN. You know what I will tell you? The NKVD couldn't have a better man in the world than Mr. Zborowski. Everything that came up, he knew. When the Norwegian Government was transferring Trotsky——

Mr. MORRIS. Transferring what?

Mrs. DALLIN. They didn't want nobody to find out that they transferred him from Norway. They transferred Trotsky to Mexico. Even Mr. Sedov didn't know it. They interned Trotsky after the first Moscow trial, because Stalin's government demanded it from them. So Trotsky was interned and kept in internment about 3 months.

Finally, the Norwegian Government obtained a visa for him in Mexico and sent him on a tanker without anybody present except the guard and the crew. And they considered it very secret because they were afraid that something can happen to Trotsky, that he can be killed. So they didn't want to be responsible for it until they delivered him to Mexico.

So who knew about it? Mr. Zborowski and I.

Mr. MORRIS. You knew about it?

Mrs. DALLIN. Sure. Mr. Sedov was informed about his father; he was being transferred to Mexico. So he told me, and we told him. So the NKVD knew it immediately.

When Mr. Sedov felt ill, who ordered the ambulance? Mr. Zborowski. So who knew immediately that he was in the hospital? The NKVD.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us something about that hospital? Do you know anything about the hospital that Sedov was in?

Mrs. DALLIN. I forgot the name of the street, too. I don't know. I remember where it was. It was in Paris, in the 16th Arrondissement, and it was in the part of Paris that was called Auteil. And when he was brought to the hospital, I phoned Zborowski and I asked him to come over. I had to rush to the bank to take money, and he

orders the ambulance, and Sedov was taken to the hospital. I have no proof whatsoever that the NKVD did something to him. It could be a natural death. It could be that they helped out a little bit.

But the only thing I am sure of is that they knew the first moment in what hospital he was. That I am sure of. There is no doubt in my mind that he told them about it. And when he told me, "I reported," he said, "But I always reported late."

I said, "Why did you report late?"

He said, "I didn't want later on, when I became friendly with Sedov, to harm him."

I said, "Listen, if I were your superior, I would fire you. You tell that everything was late. Sedov died. You told about Sedov after his death."

He told me that he reported on Sedov's illness after his death, meaning 10 days later; that he reported on Krivitsky after Krivitsky left the old apartment that he used to be in, that he did not report on Reiss, that he did not report on a single—everything he reported was too late.

I said, "I would fire you if I were your NKVD superior."

But he said, "They considered me an important agent."

They considered him an important agent, and all his reports went to Moscow straight, and all the details, even afterwards, were very important to them.

Mr. MORRIS. I have nothing further. -

Senator JENNER. Are there further questions.

(No response.)

Senator JENNER. Mrs. Dallin, this committee wants to thank you for coming forward and telling your story. We wish more Americans would cooperate with this committee in the fashion that you have this morning.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. DALLIN. Thank you.

Senator JENNER. We stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

MARCH 6, 1956

PART 6

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, MARCH 6, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT,
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:30 a. m., in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator Herman Welker presiding.

Present: Senators Welker, Eastland (subcommittee chairman), and Jenner.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel, Robert C. McManus, investigations analyst, and William Arens, staff member. Senator WELKER (presiding). The meeting of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate will come to order.

As an opening statement of the acting chairman, I would like to say this:

The Soviet tide has been running swiftly against the forces of the free world in Asia. One contributing factor to this trend has been the enormous quantity of anti-American propaganda that has been disseminated here and abroad.

The subcommittee has received concrete evidence that American citizens have been contributing to this poisoning of the political atmosphere. The subject matter of today's hearing will be a footlocker full of propaganda material and other papers and photographs belonging to William H. Hinton, who will be one of our witnesses this morning. Testimony will come from Mr. Hinton, other than that received from the footlocker.

These hearings are held within the framework of the current series which is seeking to determine to what extent Soviet activity here in the United States and by American citizens is calculated to contribute to Soviet expansion abroad.

Now, call your first witness, counsel.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, before calling the witness for today, I would like, for the purposes of identifying the subject matter of today's hearing, to call Mr. Halleck, who was formerly of the subcommittee staff.

Will Mr. Halleck come forward, please?

SENATOR WELKER. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give before the subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. HALLECK. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES W. HALLECK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Senator WELKER. Will you state your name and your residence?

Mr. HALLECK. My name is Charles W. Halleck, and I am currently living at 5108 Nahant Street, in Washington.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Halleck, were you formerly employed by the Internal Security Subcommittee?

Mr. HALLECK. I was, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us for what period of time, roughly?

Mr. HALLECK. Roughly the preceding year to this period, within the exception of about the last 4 weeks.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean during the years 1954 and 1955?

Mr. HALLECK. The year 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. 1955.

Now, do you see a footlocker directly in front of the witness stand there?

Mr. HALLECK. I do, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recognize that footlocker?

Mr. HALLECK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Counsel Friedman, this witness is identifying the footlocker and telling us how it came into our possession. If you would like to come forward with Mr. Hinton, you are certainly welcome.

Will you tell us the circumstances surrounding your having to do with that particular footlocker?

Mr. HALLECK. While I was employed by the Internal Security Subcommittee, approximately, in my recollection, 6 or 8 months ago—I cannot fix the time exactly—Mr. Sourwine, the then counsel for the subcommittee, called me to his office and instructed me to go over to the Bureau of Customs and pick up a footlocker.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was that?

Mr. HALLECK. Where was what, sir?

Mr. MORRIS. The Bureau of Customs.

Mr. HALLECK. Down on about Pennsylvania Avenue and 12th Street.

Mr. MORRIS. But it is in Washington: is that right?

Mr. HALLECK. In Washington, right here.

I got my automobile—it was about 5 o'clock in the afternoon—and drove down there and went to the office where I was instructed to go, spoke to the person in the office, identified myself, and was shown this footlocker, which, at the time I picked it up, had a wooden crate of a sort around it. I picked up this footlocker with the crate around it, carried it down to my automobile, and brought it up to Mr. Sourwine's office, where I was then instructed to remove it to Mr. McManus' office in the HOLC Building, which I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who was Mr. McManus?

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. McManus is an employee of the Internal Security Committee, the gentleman sitting just to your left.

Mr. MORRIS. And that is all you had to do with that particular footlocker?

Mr. HALLECK. That is all I had to do with it.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Halleck.

Mr. HALLECK. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you step down?

Mr. McManus, will you take the stand, please?

Senator WELKER. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give before the subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McMANUS. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF ROBERT C. McMANUS, INVESTIGATIONS ANALYST,
INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE**

Senator WELKER. State your name, your residence, and your occupation.

Mr. McMANUS. Robert C. McManus, investigations analyst of the Subcommittee on Internal Security.

Senator WELKER. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, did you receive from Mr. Halleck, the previous witness, the footlocker that now reposes in front of the witness stand?

Mr. McMANUS. I did, on or about May 20, 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you open that footlocker?

Mr. McMANUS. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you testify that all of the documents that are presented there on the two bulletin boards behind the witness stand, and all these that will be used in the course of the testimony today, were taken by you from this particular footlocker?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes, all of the documents on the bulletin board and all of the documents which have been assembled by the staff in preparation for this hearing were taken by me out of that footlocker.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. McManus, in addition, is there in the possession of the subcommittee certain belongings of a Mr. Berges, that is, William Berges?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What are those materials, Mr. McManus?

Mr. McMANUS. Well, that is a collection of what appears to be propaganda material in several oriental languages and also a number of phonograph records, most of which are in oriental languages.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, they are now in the possession of the subcommittee?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have issued a subpoena for Mr. William Berges to testify, but as yet we have not been able to effect service. He should be a witness later in this particular series of hearings, and the subject matter at the time of his testimony will be the papers in the possession of Mr. Berges.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to put into the record, if you will excuse us, sir—

Mr. McMANUS. I have an inventory, if you want to put that into the record, of English-language and Chinese-language printed material.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Would you put that into the record, Mr. McManus.

Senator WELKER. The inventory so taken by you will be inserted in the record and will be made a part thereof.

(The inventory referred to was marked exhibit No. 20 and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 20

LIST OF ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PRINTED MATERIAL IN HINTON'S FOOTLOCKER

1. Yu Tsai School for Talented Refugee Children—September 18, 1945, Beipei, Chungking.
2. Manila envelope containing 44 Chinese language newspapers.
3. The True Story of Ah Q by Lu Hsun—Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1953.
4. Manila envelope containing snapshots of Chinese people and Chinese scenes.
5. Chinese Literature—No. 1, Autumn, 1951, The Cultural Press, Peking. (Stories and poems.)
6. I. V. Michurin, Selected Works—Foreign Languages Publishing House—Moscow, 1950. (This book on Agriculture.)
7. Chinese Literature—No. 2, Spring 1952, the Cultural Press.
8. The Five Thousand Dictionary—Chinese-English Pocket Dictionary—Peking, 1940. The Murry Printing Company, Cambridge, Mass.
9. A Handbook of Modern Russian Conversation by N. C. Stepanoff, Dover Publications, New York City, 1945.
10. V. Safonov, "Land in Bloom" Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951.
11. The Situation in Biological Science—Proceedings of Lenin Academy of Agriculture Sciences of the U. S. S. R., July 31–August 7, 1948—verbatim report, Moscow, 1949.
12. Two brown notebooks, handwritten notes.
13. Peoples' China—Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 1953, In memory of J. V. Stalin. "Supplement to Peoples' China"—Political reports by Chou En-lai. Also volumes 2, 3, 4, 5, and 10, 1950.
14. Red notebook with handwritten notes.
15. White notebook with songs handwritten in Chinese.
16. Two volumes of bound People's China—July 1950–December 16, 1950, January 1952–June 1952—Foreign Languages Press, Peking.
17. China Reconstructs—No. 4, 1953, published by China Welfare Institute.
18. United Nations—POW's in Korea—Published by Chinese People's Committee for World Peace—Peking, 1953.
19. New China Forges Ahead—The Achievements of the Chinese People in 1950–51, Peking, Foreign Languages Press 1952.
20. Rhymes of Li Yu-Tsai and others—Chou Shu-li Cultural Press, 1950, Peking.
21. Prague in Photographs, 1938, Orbis Praha—In English and other languages.
22. New China's Economic Achievements, 1949–52, China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade, Peking 1952.
23. The First Year of Victory, Foreign Languages Press, Peking.
24. This Is China Today, poems by Rewi Alley, published by Rewi Alley aid groups, 1951.
25. The Communist Party, in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of China. Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1951.
26. How the Tillers Win Back Their Land, Hsiao Chein, Foreign Languages Press, 1951.
27. China's Revolutionary Wars, in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party in China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1951.
28. Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China, by Hu Chao-nu, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1951.
29. The General Conditions of China's Labor Movement. Address at a reception on May 1, 1952, by Lai Ju-yu. Published by the Workers Press, Peking, 1952.
30. Women of China, March 1953, Foreign Languages Press, Peking.
31. The Communist program and other documents of the first plenary session of the Chinese Peoples' Political Consultative Conference, Foreign Languages Press, 1952.
32. On the Party, Liu Shao-chi, Foreign Languages Press, 1950.
33. The Agrarian Reform Law of the Peoples' Republic of China, Foreign Languages Press, 1950.
34. China Accuses, speeches of the special representative of the Central Peoples' Government of the Peoples' Republic of China at the United Nations. Foreign Languages Press, 1951.
35. Pamphlets on China and Things Chinese. A symposium of the new life movement. March 1946.
36. Complete and Consolidate the Victory, Foreign Languages Press, 1950.

37. Documents of the Women's Movement of China, published by All China Democratic Women's Federation.
38. Mao Tse-tung, on peoples' democratic dictatorship, Foreign Languages Press, 1951.
39. Mao Tse-tung, on the Chinese revolution, Peoples' Publishing House, 1952.
40. Culture and Education in New China, Foreign Languages Press.
41. Mao Tse-tung, on practice (on the relation between knowledge and practice—between knowing and doing), Foreign Languages Press, 1952.
42. Mao Tse-tung, on contradiction, Foreign Languages Press.
43. On Inner Party Struggle, Foreign Languages Press, 1941.
44. The Case Against United States Germ Warfare Criminality, Daily News Release, March 1952.
45. Stalin and the Chinese Revolution, Foreign Languages Press, 1953.
46. The Marriage Law of the Peoples' Republic of China, Foreign Languages Press, 1950.
47. Culture, Education, Health in New China, Foreign Languages Press, 1952.
48. Speech before the study group of research members of Academia Sinica by Chen Po-ta, 1953, Foreign Languages Press.
49. China Wins Economic Battles, Foreign Languages Press, 1950.
50. Children's Tears, published by China Welfare Institute, Shanghai.
51. Peoples' China, 1952, (2) July to December.
52. Peoples' China, January to June 1951.
53. Peoples' China, July to December 1951.

LIST OF CHINESE PRINTED MATERIALS IN HINTON'S FOOTLOCKER

1. Volumes 1, 2, and 3, Select Writings of Mao Tse-tung.
 2. On the Threshold of a New Life, 1947, August 1, pictures and brief biographies of Chinese who went over to Communists.
 3. Seven issues of the Farm Machinery Bulletin, June 1, 1951; December, 1950; September, 1950; issue No. 4, 1951; issue No. 3, 1951; combined issues Nos. 1 and 2, 1951; May 1, 1951.
 4. Chinese Agricultural Bulletin, first and second half of 1952, first and second half of 1951, first and second half of 1950.
 5. Teaching Children How To Draw.
 6. Regulations of the Communist Party, 1947.
 7. Experiences of Cooperatives at Tai Hong District, 1946.
 8. How To Be a Good Farm Hand, 1948.
 9. Life of Chiang Kai-shek in pictorial, 1947, with a skull and bones and swastika on the cover.
 10. The Eight Regulations That a Member of the Communist Party Should Observe, 1952 (with the hammer and sickle enclosed by a wreath on the cover), compiled by Chinese Communist Party, northwestern section propaganda department.
 11. On China, by Stalin and Lenin, 1950, the Liberation Press, (probably Peking).
 12. Land Laws, 1947, the land convention of the Chinese Communist Party, passed September 13, 1947.
 13. A book by Mao Tse-tung, We Struggle for the Betterment of our National Economy and Finance. Published by the Liberation Press, 1950.
 14. Phonetics for the Farmers in Learning Chinese Characters, 1952, Peoples' Publishing House in Hopei.
 15. Discussions on Land Reform and Mass Movement, 1948, by the central office of Shansi, Hopei, Shantung, Honan of the Chinese Communists.
- All publications from No. 16 through No. 34 as listed below are in pictorial story form.
16. Four volumes of Brave Men and Women published by Hsin Hua bookshop, (New China) 1952.
 17. Cannot Die, Hsin Hua bookshop.
 18. Wu Sung Subduing the Tiger, published in 1953 by I Chih Shu Tien.
 19. White Haired Girl, 1953.
 20. Series of textbooks, volumes 1, 2, 3, and 5, for learning the language, 1946. Tao Fen Shu Tien.
 21. Explanation of the Theory on Practice by Li Ta, published by Sheng, Hua; Tu Shu; Shin Chih, a three union publishing company, 1952.
 22. Spring of Two Families, published by Hsin Hua, 1952.
 23. The Man Who Lives Forever, New Art Publishing Co.
 24. Peace in Peking, published by Peace Publishing Co.

25. Pocket map of the different provinces of the Peoples' Chinese Republic, 1950, published by the Ta Lu Map Publishing Co.
26. A Model Worker of the Huai River, New Art Publishing Co., 1952.
27. Songs of the White-Haired Girl, from the motion picture of that name.
28. The Story of Tai Yu-Chen's Marriage; publisher, the Youth Publishing Co., 1952.
29. The Water Wheel, published by New Art Publishing Co., 1953.
30. A Brave Couple of Cossacks, 1953, Peoples' Art.
31. We Should Work on the Huai River, published by Hsin Hua, 1953.
32. Chicken Fathers Writers, volume 2, published by Hsin Hua.
33. Little Guerillas, volume 5, published by Hsin Hua.
34. Pictures on the new marriage law, Hsin Hua, 1951.
35. Chinese Agricultural Bulletin, issue No. 1, January 10, 1953; February 10, 1953; issue No. 2, January 25, 1953; issue No. 4, February 25, 1953; issue No. 5, March 10, 1953; issue No. 6, March 25, 1953; issue No. 8, April 25, 1953; issue No. 9, May 10, 1953; issue No. 10, May 25, 1953.
36. Farm Machinery Bulletin, January, February, March, April, and May, 1953.
37. Report on Irrigation of Agricultural Lands at Koa Li and Lu Tai, June 1950, Agricultural Department, People's Government.
38. Farm Machinery Bulletin, issue No. 9, July 10, 1950; issue No. 45, January 10, 1942; June 16, 1931; issue No. 40, November 1, 1950.
39. Farm Tractor's Bulletin, July 1931, issue No. 7.
40. Inauguration Ceremony of North China University, August 1948.
41. The Articles Digest, issues 15 and 16, January 22, 1947.
42. Learning, magazine, issue number 5, 1933, published on May 2, by the Learning magazine.
43. Pictorial story, Changed Labor, 1946, Hsin Hua.
44. Mechanized Agriculture, combined issue for 1951 to 1952.
45. A Report on the Agriculture Movement in Honan by Mao Tse-tung, published by Hsin Hua.
46. Roughest Material for Agricultural Production Cooperative, two sets, series 1 and 2, 1952.
47. Handbook of Land Distribution, Hsin Hua, 1948.
48. Farm Survey by Mao Tse-tung, Hsin Hua, 1947.
49. Land Reform Handbook, Hsin Hua, 1948.
50. Reference Material for Land Reform and Party Reform, Hsin Hua, 1948.
51. Review on the White Paper, by the propaganda department of China's Communist Peking municipality, 1949.
52. The People Sing, issue number 5, May 1951, published by the peoples' broadcast station of Peking.
53. Map of the border region of Shansi, Hopei, Shantung, Honan; published by the Hsin Hua Shu Tien, 1947.
54. Report of Comrade Kao Kang on March 13, 1950, Hsin Hua.
55. Chinese Land Reform by Meng Nan, published by the New People's Publishing Co., 1949.
56. Decision Regarding the Farm Classes by the Peoples' Government, August 4, 1950.
57. Report by Chairman Mao on April 1, 1948, Hsin Hua, 1955.
58. Report of Hsi Chung-hsun, May 20, 1950, Hsin Hua.
59. Counter offense at the northwestern battlefield, map.
60. Map of the battlefield at northwestern.
61. Map of central China.
62. Map of the border region of Shan, Hopei, Shantung, and Honan.
63. Questions and Answers on Land Laws, 1948, published by Wen Hua.
64. Songs in support of our troops at the front with music.
65. A speech by Po I-po, February 1, 1952, during the trial of members of the Government in Peiping.
66. Report on the Policy of the Central Government With Regard to the South, September 28, 1948.
67. Story on Marriage, series No. 2, 1953, Yough Publishing Co.
68. Textbook on Language, vols. 6, 7, 8, published by Yu Min, 1946.
69. The People Sing, with music No. 1, no date.
70. Liberation Song, 1948, Peoples' Publishers, Peiping.
71. University Language Textbook, vol. 4, 1947.

CHARACTERIZATIONS

There were approximately 400 photographs, classified loosely as follows:

1. Pictures of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, including street scenes, scenes made in the auditorium where the Conference was held, celebrations incidental to the Conference itself.
2. Pictures of agricultural scenes, in many of which Europeans or Americans appeared—sometimes in UNRRA uniforms.
3. Pictures of Hinton himself and other Americans or Europeans dressed in Chinese garb.
4. Pictures of Chinese.
5. Pictures which were evidently made at the front under Communist auspices during the war in French Indochina.
6. Pictures of Chinese Communist scenes, bearing captions in English and Chinese on the reverse side, which appear to have been issued by Chinese Communist propaganda agencies.

There were upward of 2,000 pages of single-spaced typewritten manuscript, most of which are carbon copies of letters, reports on Chinese individuals and families in Chinese villages, Communist Party instructions, articles apparently written by Mr. Hinton for publication. Fifty-one charts. Posters.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to put into the record, too, an exchange of correspondence between the Bureau of Customs, in the Treasury Department, and Senator William E. Jenner, who was chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee during the month of December 1954. The correspondence, which lasted until March 3, 1955, bears on the circumstances through which this footlocker came into the possession of the subcommittee.

Senator WELKER. Very well. It will be incorporated and made a part of the record.

(The correspondence referred to was marked "Exhibits 21 through 21-C" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 21

HON. RALPH KELLY,

NOVEMBER 10, 1954.

*Commissioner of Customs,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR COMMISSIONER: The Subcommittee on Internal Security is now engaged in an investigation of Americans who recently returned to this country after having been employed by, or associated with, the Communist Government of China. Among these individuals are William H. Hinton and William Berges. The Bureau of Customs detained the baggage of both of these individuals on their return to the United States and still holds part of the baggage.

A subcommittee staff member, Mr. Robert C. McManus, recently visited the customhouse in Boston to inquire into this matter. He talked with Agents Edwin Finnegan, who handled the Berges matter and Paul Lawrence, who had charge of the baggage of William Hinton. Messrs. Finnegan and Lawrence were extremely cooperative with the subcommittee, for which I wish to express thanks. Mr. Finnegan advised that Berges' baggage consisted of a large wooden packing case full of periodicals and propaganda posters, phonograph records in Chinese and Indian languages, and 6 boxes of 16-millimeter films. This was held to be political propaganda under the meaning of title 22, United States Code, section 611j.

Mr. Lawrence stated that the Hinton baggage, which was shipped in what appeared to be an army footlocker, consisted of about 71 pounds of diaries, letters, propaganda posters, books, and magazines. We are advised that the Berges material is still in Boston and that the Hinton material is now in Washington at the United States Bureau of Standards. Our subcommittee is very anxious to make a study of this material in order to determine whether or not it should be placed into the public record of our hearings. Will you be good enough to give us access to it with the above purpose in mind? Thank you for your cooperation.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. JENNER,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

EXHIBIT No. 21-A

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
BUREAU OF CUSTOMS,
Washington, December 3, 1954.

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER,
*Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of November 10, 1954, in regard to an investigation being conducted by the Subcommittee on Internal Security of Americans who recently returned to this country after being employed by, or associated with, the Communist Government of China. You refer to Messrs. William H. Hinton and William Berges as being among the individuals involved and to the fact that the Bureau of Customs detained the baggage of these individuals on their return to the United States and still holds part of their baggage. As your subcommittee is very anxious to make a study of the material contained therein in order to determine whether or not it should be placed into the public record of your hearings, you request that access to it be permitted with this purpose in view.

It is understood that the baggage of Mr. Berges, which consisted of a large wooden packing case full of periodicals and propaganda posters, phonograph records in Chinese and Indian languages, and six boxes of 16-millimeter films, has been held to be political propaganda within the meaning of 22 United States Code 611j, and is now in the custody of the Customs Agency Service in Boston, Mass. The baggage of Mr. Hinton, which was shipped to this Bureau in an Army footlocker, consisting of about 71 pounds of diaries, letters, propaganda posters, books, and magazines, is now in the custody of the office of Mr. Shirley Stephens, Head, Penalties Section, in room 7316, Internal Revenue Building, Washington, D. C.

Authority is hereby granted for duly authorized representatives of your subcommittee to have access to these documents which will be made available to them for the purpose of obtaining data therefrom for the use of the subcommittee.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) RALPH KELLY,
Commissioner of Customs.

EXHIBIT No. 21-B

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
BUREAU OF CUSTOMS,
Washington 25, March 31, 1955.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
*Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee,
Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Reference is made to the letter from Senator William E. Jenner, dated November 10, 1954, and to this Bureau's reply dated December 3, 1954, in regard to William H. Hinton and William Berges, who returned to this country from China with a quantity of political propaganda publications and other material.

Senator Jenner had requested that permission be granted to representatives of his committee to review the documents brought back to this country by the above-mentioned individuals. In the Bureau's reply of December 3, 1954, authority was granted to your duly authorized representatives to review such documents for the purpose of obtaining data therefrom for use of the subcommittee.

Mr. Robert C. McManus appeared in the Bureau and requested a copy of the inventory of the documents contained in Mr. Hinton's footlocker which is in this Bureau. Mr. McManus also requested a description of Mr. Berges' material which is in the custody of the Collector of Customs at Boston, Mass.

In accordance with Mr. McManus' request, there is enclosed a copy of the inventory of the material found in Mr. Hinton's footlocker. A detailed inventory of the material brought back by Mr. Berges has not been made, but there is also enclosed a descriptive list of such material.

Both Hinton and Berges have been endeavoring to obtain the release of their property. In event any of the property is to be released, you will be so advised.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) RALPH KELLY,
Commissioner of Customs.

(The following is the inventory referred to in the above letter:)

EXHIBIT No. 21-C

APPENDIX A. ENGLISH LANGUAGE BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

1. Culture and Education in New China, Foreign Language Press, Peiping.
2. The True Story of AH Q, LU Hsun, April 1953, Foreign Language Press, Peiping.
3. People's China, volume 1, No. 4, February 16, 1950; No. 5, March 1, 1950.
4. United Nation's POW's in Korea, Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, Peiping, 1953.
5. Chinese Literature, No. 1, Autumn 1951, Cultural Press, Peiping; No. 2, Spring 1952.
6. Marriage Law, People's Republic of China, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1950.
7. The Situation in Biological Science, Proceedings of Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences of U. S. S. R., July 31-August 1948, verbatim report—translation, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1949.
8. The Selected Works of I. V. Michurin (Agriculture), Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1950.
9. The General Conditions of China's Labor Movement, address of May 1, 1952. LAI Ju-yu, General Secretary, All-China Federation of Labor, Worker's Press, Peiping, September 1952.
10. Stalin and the Chinese Revolution, CHEN Po-ta, vice president, Academia Sinica, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1953.
11. 30 Years of the Communist Party of China, HU Chiao-mu, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1951.
12. The Case Against United States Germ Warfare Criminals, special supplement, Daily News Release, March 20, 1952.
13. On Inner Party Struggle, LIU Shao-chi, lecture delivered July 2, 1941, at a party school for Central China, Foreign Language Press, Peiping.
14. This is China Today. Poems by Rewi Alley, chosen and edited by H. Winston Rhodes, the Rewi Alley Aid Group, 1951 (autographed by Alley, June 5, 1951), printed by Caxton Press, Christchurch.
15. MAO Tse-tung on People's Democratic Dictatorship, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1951; On Contradiction, 1952; On Practice, 1952.
16. Complete and Consolidate the Victory, New China Library, Series No. 1, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, May 1950.
17. Women of China, 1st edition, March 1953, compiled by the International Department, All-China Democratic Women's Federation, Foreign Language Press, Peiping.
18. The Agrarian Reform Law, People's Republic of China, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1950-51, 2d edition.
19. China Accuses!—speeches of the Special Representative, Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China at the United Nations, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1951.
20. Pamphlets on China and Things Chinese, a symposium on the New Life Movement (KMT) compiled, translated, and published by the War Area Service Corps, National Military Council, Peiping, March 1946.
21. New China's Economic Achievements, 1949-52, China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade.
22. New China Forges Ahead, the Achievements of the Chinese People in 1950-51, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1952, important documents of the 3d Session of the 1st National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.
23. Rhymes of LI Yu-tsai and Other Stories, by CHAO Shu-li, with introductory article by CHOU Yang, Cultural Press, Peiping, 1950.
24. Culture-Education-Health in New China, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1952.
25. The First Year of Victory, Foreign Language Press, Peiping.

26. Speech Before a Study Group of the Research Members of the Academia Sinica, CHEN Po-ta, July 18, 1952, 1st edition May 1953, People's Publishing House, Peiping.
27. China Wins Economic Battles, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1950.
28. Children's Tears, published by China Welfare Institute, Shanghai, 1951 and 1952.
29. The Common Program and Other Documents of the 1st Plenary Session of the China People's Political Consultative Conference, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1952.
30. Land in Bloom, V. Safonov, Foreign Language Publishing House, New York.
31. Handbook of Modern Russian Conversation, Dover Publishing House, New York.
32. Documents of the Women's Movement in China, All-China Democratic Woman's Federation, 1st edition 1950, 2d 1952.
33. MAO Tse-tung on the Chinese Revolution, CHEN Po-ta, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1953.
34. How the Tillers Win Back Their Land, HSIAO Ch'ien, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1951.
35. China's Revolutionary Wars, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1951.
36. The Communist Party, Leader of the Chinese Revolution, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1951.
37. On the Party, LIU Shao-chi, Foreign Language Press, Peiping, 1950.
38. Prague in Photographs, Karel Plicker, 1953.

APPENDIX B. CHINESE BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

1. Discourse on Practicability, explanation of, by LI Ta, San Shu Publications (subtitles—New Ideas, Livelihood Reading).
2. New Elementary Books, approved by the Educational Section of the Shansi, Hopei, Shantung, Honan Administrative Area, including Common Sense Kuo Yu (national dialect).
3. Problem of Land Reform, NEMG Man, supplementary edition.
4. Old Story of Marriage, 2d chapter, Northwest Youth Publication Company.
5. Anti-Authoritarianism, Anti-Officialism, Chung-Hsun, 2d Secretary of the Chinese Communist Northwest Bureau, report at the Cadre Congress, May 20, 1950, Hsin Hua Current Affairs Publishing Company, Hsin Hua Bookstore, distributor.
6. Handbook for Studying Land Reform, material for study on the party on land reform.
7. Decision Pertaining to the Rural Division, by the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government.
8. Chairman Mao's Speech at the Shansi-Sinyuan Cadre Meeting, April 1, 1948.
9. Instructions on Land and Party Reform and the Democratic Movement by the Chinese Communist Shansi, Hopei, Shantung, Honan Central Bureau.
10. New Heroic Children's Stories.
11. Songs of the People, compiled by the Peking People's Broadcasts.
12. Model CHIN Hsiu-lan of the Huai River Harnessing Bureau.
13. Common Edition of the Marriage Laws and Explanation, pictures by the All-China Federation of Artistic Circles, East China People's Publication.
14. Two Families Prosperity.
15. The Marriage of Tai Yu-chen, East China Youth publication.
16. Guerilla Member, children's pictorial.
17. Perpetual Human Existence.
18. Peace Is in Peking.
19. New Maps for Provinces, pocket edition, Chinese People's Republic, published by Shanghai Mainland Atlas, 1950.
20. Urgent Letter.
21. Must Repair the Huai River.
22. A Pair of Intrepid Cossacks.
23. Water wagon.
24. Unable To Dig.
25. Wu Sung Fighting A Tiger.
26. The White-Haired Woman.
27. Story of San Kuo.
28. How To Be A Life Long Worker for the People, published by the Tai Hong Mass Bookstore.
29. Life of CHIANG Ting-Shih, Po Hai Pictorial Publishing Company.

30. Eight Standardized Conditions for Ordinary Conversation for a Communist Party Member, compiled by the Central Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, Northwest People's Publication.
31. New Elementary School Books.
32. Waste of Labor, JEN Hsin-chiao, Shantung Hsin Hua Bookstore, reissue, 1946.
33. Study Materials.
34. Study Materials on the Land Reform Laws of China.
35. Definite Proposals on the Vietminh Communist Question Reported to the Central Government.
36. Talks During the Mass Trial of Big Culprits for Grafting, 1952.
37. Children's Pictorial on Rural Education, drawn by TSOU Tsui.
38. Party Regulations of the Communist Party.
39. Experience from the Organization of Labor Cooperative in the Tai-Hsing District.
40. Land Reform, Organic Laws of China.
41. Strive and Struggle for Fundamental Improvement to the National Economy, MAO Tse-tung.
42. Peasant's Rapid Learning of Characters by Phonetics, single character edition.
43. The Mass, published May 2, 1953.
44. Special Edition of Founder's Day Ceremonial, North China University.
45. The Article's Digest.
46. Lenin-Stalin Discuss China.
47. MAO Tse-tung's Writing, 1st and 2d books.

MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL

Four books of music plus one personal notebook of songs.

Two mail wrappings, evidently around printed material.

UNRRA credentials, vaccination record.

Document in Chinese stamped by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shanghai Office (KMT).

APPENDIX C. POSTERS, MAPS, AND PICTURES

POSTERS

1. Children of New China (picture of children representing the Chinese Communist Army, Navy, Air Force, factories, and farms shoving CHIANG and the U. S. into the sea).
2. We Fervently Desire Peace (large picture of two children with doves).
3. Peace Delegates, Welcome (small girl holding bouquets of flowers aloft. The caption is in English, Russian, and French in the lower right-hand corner, Chinese at top).
4. Production Effort Victory Celebration (children playing—two carrying red stars on which the slogans are printed).
5. Celebration of the Establishment of the Chinese People's Republic (military parade in China's version of Red Square, tanks, trucks, and people marching with lots of people watching).
6. Reading Newspaper (family group listening to someone read the newspaper).
7. Latest Photo of Chinese People's Leader MAO Tse-tung (Hsin Hua publication of North China).
8. Comrade Chu Te (man in uniform).
9. Picture of Abundant Harvest (happy group eating in the fields. Drawn by PU Hsiao-huai 1950).
10. Resist American-Aid Korea. Support the Patriotic Pledge. Obey the Patriotic Pledge (people lining up to sign at a table under trees and near a factory. A placard near the signing table reads as above. The caption: "Anti-American Imperialism, Sign the Patriotic Pledge").
11. Victory Celebration of the Asian-Pacific Area Peace Conference (doves flying. A second poster with the same caption and a dove flying with a ribbon in its mouth on which is written the word "peace" in many languages).
12. Beat Out the War Flame. Save the Peace (a woman with a child on her back and a little girl by the hand is raising an arm in defiance at the sky. In the background are towns burning and in the sky a plane with U. S. on its wings diving).

13. Unite Together, Protect the Peace (people marching with flags ranked behind them with peace in different languages on the flags. People are of all races and nationalities. Picasso dove in background carrying caption).
14. Little Brothers of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers (children playing with toys).
15. People's Army (people working in grainfields, village huts at right, soldiers also working in grainfields, and one soldier with a lot of grain and a long scroll).
16. Down With CHIANG Kai-shek. Establish a New China (a man holding a spear with sword aloft. Second poster, same man with rifle and bayonet).
17. Energetic Farming Will Produce Abundant Crops (three people with grain).
18. Women Planting Cotton (people picking cotton with strip below showing the planting, tending, and harvesting of cotton).
19. Picture of Cooperative Production (children loading grain on a cart).
20. Voting for People's Representatives (people voting).
21. Farming Production (family with plenty, sheep, grain, fruits, tools).
22. Returning From the Front With Honor (adults and children crowding around a man in blue wearing a huge red design with the character for merit on it).
23. (People drinking tea at home, no caption.)
24. Women's Aid Team (people carrying grains and fruits).
25. Picture of Dividing the Fruits of Success (people dividing up the tax collector's spoils).
26. Transplanting Song and Dance (children dancing).
27. Working People's Cultural Palace (workers reading newspapers inside palace-like building. Others dancing in courtyard outdoors).
28. Happy Rejoicing on National Holiday (people joyously watching fireworks in front of a large Chinese-type building with MAO's picture on it).
29. Repairing Railway (man laying railroad track alongside one built with a train on it. In the background a bridge being built).
30. President MAO and Labor Heroes (MAO talking to a younger man).
31. Our Hero Has Returned (man in a factory surrounded by others greeting him. He is wearing a big red commendation).
32. Celebration of the Establishment of the Chinese People's Republic (parade of people in street with slogans and picture of MAO).
33. Victorious New Year Military and Civilian Rejoicing (mounted soldiers with decorations).
34. Emulation of Military Shoe Manufacture To Aid the Front (woman making shoes in a house. Baby in basket).
35. Reading Newspapers (people in a cornfield eating and listening to a man read a newspaper).
36. Peaceful People and Cattle (man, woman, and child with a bullock. Decoration for a calendar).
37. Meeting of Production Team (another calendar with people in a circle, papers and an abacus in the center).
38. Labor Hero Is Respected by Everybody (people admiring two decorated workers).
39. Thousands With One Thought—Save Peace (girls in uniforms holding banners and flags and letting doves fly. People cheering. The flags are mainly Chinese and U. S. S. R.).
40. (Children and adults being taught to read.)
41. Inspecting State-Operated Farms (people harvesting grain with reaper, sowing with a tractor in the foreground).
42. Farm Tractors (people talking to a tractor driver).
43. General Liu Po-ch'eng on His Southern Expedition (people greeting soldiers).
44. Thirteen assorted calendars and pre-1948 down with the Koumintang posters.
45. One game.
46. One set of 4 cartoon sheets of "The White-Haired Woman."
47. One large sheet with cartoons explaining the new marriage laws.

MAPS

Northwest counteroffensive battle map, parts I and II.
 Shansi, Hopei, Shantung, Honan border map.
 Map of North China.

PICTURES

There are several hundred photographs of a wide variety of subjects. Most of them are unlabeled. Included are pictures of dams, farming equipment and methods, scenery, picturesque Chinese-style buildings, and people.

APPENDIX D. PERSONAL NOTES IN ENGLISH

Three notebooks of diary-type entries which are dated but not as to year. Possibly they are typed up in other material. Handwriting impossible to decipher with any speed.

The People's Education Movement (Haiyan, October 1938), a typewritten copy of notes given to an Indian by Dr. IAN Hang-chih.

A handwritten copy of what appears to be the autobiography of a Chinese.

A biography of JIA Jeng-fang of the Han Shi Village, 9th Chiu, Wu An. Also an autobiography of JANG Rae-ju, shepard of Shih Dong, 9th Chiu. Workmen in the 9th Chiu of Wuan move forward radiating out gradually and engage in the investigation of Shyhliidiann. Case of GUO Jen-jang which looks like a play but may be an on-the-ground account of a trial. Typed and all from the Jan Min Jin Fao of 1948.

Various notes on medical services, recruiting in 1948. Hinton's impressions of Border Regions and Liberated Areas.

Quantities of hand-copied music, UNRRA telegrams, reports on tractor projects, etc.

Report on Mechanized Rice Harvest, Lutai State Farm, 1952.

Travel diary, mostly 1947.

Reams of Chinese Communist propaganda, mostly translations of speeches, etc., and old, 1940-48.

Jan Min Chung Kao, People's China, January 16, 1950, volumes 1, 2.

Charts on the Degree of Annihilation of Feudalism (conditions, redistribution of land, etc.).

Senator WELKER. The next witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, before calling the next witness, we have, as an integral part of this particular series of hearings, the case of Joan Chase Hinton Engst, who is the sister of Mr. William H. Hinton. The subcommittee has sought to subpoena Mrs. Engst here this morning in connection with this series of hearings, but we have not been successful.

Senator WELKER. Where did you try to subpoena her?

Mr. MORRIS. I have a report, Senator, from Marshal Clifton E. Yates notifying Joseph C. Duke, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate as follows:

Returning subpoena unserved on Joan Chase Hinton. Subject not at Putney. No Hintons in that town to contact.

It is signed "Clifton E. Yates." It was dated March 3, 1956.

Senator WELKER. That will be inserted in the record.

(The telegram referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 22" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 22

BRATTLEBORO, VT., March 3, 1956.

JOSEPH C. DUKE,

Sergeant at Arms, United States Senate:

Returning subpoena unserved on Joan Chase Hinton. Subject not at Putney. No Hintons in that town to contact.

CLIFTON E. YATES.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with Joan Chase Hinton Engst, our records indicate that she was working with the Manhattan Engineer District, and that their records show that she worked as a research assistant at Los Alamos from February 1944 to December 1945. [Reading:]

Most of her work at Los Alamos was in the development of the water boiler, a low-power reactor which was declassified in 1951. She participated in critical assembly weapon work and attended weekly scientific colloquia, which gave her access to other classified information.

Records—

Senator WELKER. Pardon the interruption. That has to do with the fissionable material, the nuclear weapon?

Mr. MORRIS. That is right, Senator.

Senator WELKER. She had access, you say, to secret material with respect to the atomic weapon or atomic-energy project?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Senator, I will read this classification, or this job description, which was sent to us under the cover of March 5, 1956, dated March 5, 1956, and was in answer to a letter which was sent by Mr. Benjamin Mandel, our research director. I suggest that he read the whole correspondence, Senator. There are just two short letters.

Senator WELKER. All right. Proceed, Mr. Mandel.

Mr. MANDEL (reading) :

DEAR MR. MANDEL: This is in reply to your letter of March 1, 1956, concerning Joan Chase Hinton Engst. You will recall previous information was furnished your office in July 1954.

There is attached a summary of Mrs. Engst's association with the atomic-energy program which includes her known access to classified information of the Manhattan Engineer District, the predecessor organization to the Atomic Energy Commission.

Sincerely yours,

J. A. WATERS,
Director, Division of Security,
United States Atomic Energy Commission.

And this is his enclosure :

JOAN CHASE HINTON ENGST

Manhattan Engineer District records show that Hinton worked as a research assistant at Los Alamos from February 1944 to December 1945. Most of her work at Los Alamos was in the development of the water boiler, a low-power reactor which was declassified in 1951. She participated in critical assembly weapon work and attended weekly scientific colloquia, which gave her access to other classified information.

Records show that Hinton enrolled as a student at the University of Chicago in March 1945 and terminated at the end of the 1948 winter quarter. From April 1946 to July 1947 she was a part-time assistant to Dr. Samuel K. Allison, of the Institute of Nuclear Studies.

Joan Hinton has never had AEC security clearance and did not have access to classified information after she left Los Alamos at the end of 1945. She has never been employed by the AEC or its contractors.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Mr. Mandel.

The next witness will be William Hinton.

Senator WELKER. Will you proceed to the witness stand, Mr. Hinton.

Will you raise your right hand and be sworn? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give before the subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HINTON. I do.

Senator WELKER. Counsel, will you identify yourself for the record, please?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Milton H. Friedman, New York.

Senator WELKER. Your address in New York, counselor?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. 342 Madison Avenue.

Senator WELKER. Thank you, sir.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. HINTON

Senator WELKER. Your name is William H. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. My name is William H. Hinton.

Senator WELKER. Where do you reside, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. Mr. Chairman, just a minute. Before we start I would like to ask a question, if I may.

Senator WELKER. I will do the questioning here for just a few minutes, if you will let me get—

Mr. HINTON. I would just like to know who gave Mr. Sourwine the authority to go to the customs and seize my things illegally.

Senator WELKER. That is not a question before the subcommittee at this time.

Mr. HINTON. And then, when am I going to get them back? That is what I would like to know.

Senator WELKER. Very well. We will take care of that matter when that arises. You have your counsel at your side, and you have competent and able legal assistance, I am sure, knowing Mr. Friedman as I do.

Mr. HINTON. That matter arose about 3 years ago, and all this time I haven't been able to get the material back.

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Hinton, we are going to conduct the hearing as we have it outlined, and, in any way we can cooperate with you in an honorable, fair, and judicious manner, we will do so.

Mr. HINTON. You have already illegally taken these things and misappropriated them.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I point out for the information of the witness that we have inserted into the record—perhaps I should have it read so that you would understand it more clearly—but in answer to your question, Mr. Hinton, we have a letter dated December 3, 1954, and it has now been made a part of the record, signed by Ralph Kelly, Commissioner of Customs, in which authority was granted to Senator William E. Jenner, chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee, to have access to the documents that are subject to this hearing this morning. And there are several other bits of correspondence amplifying that particular conclusion, which, as I say, are now in the public record.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, are you interested in this?

Mr. HINTON. I am not satisfied with that, because I don't think there was any warrant to seize these things.

Senator WELKER. Whether you are satisfied with it is purely beyond the point.

Mr. HINTON. I don't think it is.

Senator WELKER. Now, we are going to proceed with the schedule—

Mr. HINTON. I don't think there was any warrant to seize these things from me, and I would like to have the committee to explain how they got hold of these things without any warrant.

Senator WELKER. Very well. You perhaps will have an opportunity to do a lot of explaining in the interrogation this morning, and if you will be free and frank, as I hope you will, I am certain we would love to have the information that you will give to us.

Mr. HINTON. And I would also like the assurance of the committee that my papers—

Senator WELKER. Just a moment, please. Will you not interrupt?

Mr. HINTON (continuing). That my papers will be given back to me right away.

Senator WELKER. Now, that is a matter purely beyond the jurisdiction of this committee. You certainly ought to know that the United States Customs has a little hold on these matters.

Now will you proceed?

Where do you live, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. Just a minute, though. They granted me a license to import these materials, as you know—

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton—

Mr. HINTON. I applied for a license. I got a license, and soon after I got the license, these materials were seized illegally from the Customs by this committee, as I understand it, someone on the staff or, I believe, the man who testified here.

Now, I think that has got to be explained satisfactorily.

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Hinton, we are here to have a little hearing with you. If you desire to have a hearing, with your able counselor, on how these materials that apparently are yours—you have admitted they are yours—how they came into our possession, then you and your able attorney will be able to do that at some other time.

Mr. Hinton, where do you reside?

Mr. HINTON. My permanent residence is in Putney, Vt.

Senator WELKER. Putney, Vt.

What is your age, Mr. Hinton?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. My birthday is February 2, 1919. I am 37 years old.

Senator WELKER. Thirty-seven years of age.

What is your occupation?

Mr. HINTON. Most of my life I have worked in the field of agriculture.

Senator WELKER. What is your occupation, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. Right now I am unemployed.

Senator WELKER. And how long have you been unemployed?

Mr. HINTON. For 3 or 4 weeks.

Senator WELKER. Three or four weeks.

What did you do prior to your unemployment 3 or 4 weeks ago?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WELKER. Let the record show that the witness is consulting with his attorney.

(The witness consults further with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. Well, until recently, I was engaged in lecturing and also in writing a book on my experiences in China.

Senator WELKER. Lecturing. Where did you lecture, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. Well, I lectured all over the country and traveled to the west coast and through the Middle West.

Senator WELKER. Where did you lecture on the west coast?

Mr. HINTON. Look. At the last hearing we had here we went into this whole subject, and at that time I made it clear that I was not going to talk about where and to whom I lectured. And I don't know any reason to cover all that ground again. We went through that once at that hearing before.

Senator WELKER. Now, just exactly why don't you care to answer any question propounded to you? Do you have some legal objection to it?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. We went through it all before once. I don't know any reason to——

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Hinton, I am not asking you for an argumentative answer. Do you have an objection to answering that question?

Mr. HINTON. Do you direct me to answer it?

Senator WELKER. I certainly do direct you to answer that question, and forthwith. And do not stall, please.

Mr. HINTON. Well, I am refusing to answer that question on the grounds of the first amendment, which guarantees free speech to all American citizens, and also on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. And the grounds of the fifth amendment, of course, is recognized, if you properly state your objection.

Mr. Friedman, will you help your witness on that? As you well know, this committee does not recognize the first amendment as a basis for refusal to answer questions propounded to you.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I stand on my answer.

Senator WELKER. Now, I certainly do not want to mislead you, Mr. Hinton, and your able attorney, whom I have known for some time. To have a valid objection, will you put it in the form of your legal objection to answering the question? Just saying, "I claim the fifth amendment," is not an objection.

Now, if you will state it, Counselor, then you and I can stipulate that he will not have to repeat the thing if he desires to choose the fifth amendment later.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I speak, Senator?

Senator WELKER. Yes, indeed.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe what the witness means is that he declines to answer under the protection afforded him by the fifth amendment not to testify against himself.

Senator WELKER. Not to bear witness against himself?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. Now, that is very fine of you, Mr. Friedman.

Now, you incorporate that as your objection, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. I incorporate that.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Now, you do not care to tell the committee where you lectured or what type of audience you lectured before, for the same reason heretofore given by you, the objection of the fifth amendment?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. How many lectures have you given since you have returned from China?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. Well, I think that also is covered by the first amendment. I certainly have the right of free speech. However, since it seems to be an issue here, I would estimate I lectured about 300 times.

Senator WELKER. About 300 times.

Were you paid for those lectures, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. Well, we went into all that the time before, and——

Senator WELKER. Very well. And we will go into it again, Mr. Hinton. Now, I have heard that several times already this morning. I want this as background, and no doubt we will go over the matters that we discussed before.

Now, will you answer?

Mr. HINTON. I made it clear the time before that I was usually paid for these lectures.

Senator WELKER. And I believe you told me that some of the lectures you were not paid for? In fairness to you, I believe you told me that.

Mr. HINTON. I was paid for almost every time I spoke.

Senator WELKER. I see.

How many lectures have you given since you appeared before this committee last time?

Mr. HINTON. Well, I don't remember exactly. Again, I want to protest that I don't think this is a proper question for you to ask.

Senator WELKER. I think you have made your position quite clear on that, what you think. And in what I think, we are at a difference of opinion on that.

Now, will you tell me, Mr. Hinton, how many lectures you have given since you appeared before this committee the last time?

Mr. HINTON. I just wanted to make that protest clear.

Senator WELKER. I believe you have.

Mr. HINTON. I want to say that——

Senator WELKER. Counsel apparently is a bit——

Mr. HINTON. How about telling these photographers to stay over to the side and stop taking pictures?

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Now, your counsel has been before this committee before. He knows our rules. And when he wants a photographer not to take pictures, all he has to do is ask us, and we will certainly try to abide by his request.

Now will you proceed with the subject matter before us and the question that I propounded to you?

Mr. HINTON. Well, I would estimate that I talked 20 times.

Senator WELKER. Twenty times since the last hearing. That is an estimate?

Mr. HINTON. That is an estimate.

Senator WELKER. Realizing that you cannot perhaps be accurate on that.

And you still desire not to tell the committee what groups you talked before?

Mr. HINTON. My answer is the same.

Senator WELKER. The fifth amendment?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. You claim the privilege?

Mr. HINTON. I claim the privilege.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever talk to any American Legion meetings.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Well, as I said in the last hearing, I would certainly have talked before the American Legion had I been invited to do so.

Senator WELKER. Did they invite you?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. No; I was not invited.

Senator WELKER. Now who did invite you to speak and lecture before them?

Mr. HINTON. I stand on the same answer. I claim the privilege.

Senator WELKER. You claim the privilege. Yet by one word you say that if the American Legion had invited you to speak before them, you would have accepted. Now, I merely want to call this to your attention, Counselor. You know this as well as I do.

The claiming of the fifth amendment privilege is a personal right on the part of the witness. Once he opens up the subject matter, we certainly are entitled to interrogate him. Now he has stated that if the American Legion had invited him to speak, he would have gladly appeared.

Now, then, my question goes to the fact, Who did invite you to speak, since the American Legion did not?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Senator, in my opinion he still has the same rights he had before he gave that answer to you.

Senator WELKER. I have no doubt. You are not surprising me by that. I do not want to go into a lengthy discourse as to where I think he spoke.

But may I ask you this question? Have you spoken before any Farmers Union meetings?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds as before.

Senator WELKER. You decline to answer that question upon the ground that it might tend to incriminate you and force you to bear witness against yourself?

Mr. HINTON. The same answer as before.

Senator WELKER. You believe that an answer to that question might tend to incriminate you if you answered it truthfully?

Mr. HINTON. The same answer.

Senator WELKER. And it may be stipulated in the record that when the witness states "The same answer as heretofore given," he means he is invoking the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Is that stipulated, counsel?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, it is, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Thank you.

Now will you tell me a little bit about your past life? What is your education, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. Well, again, we went all through this before, but you—

Senator WELKER. Very well. And we are going to go all over it again today. So do not think that this is repetitious. I mean, we may have learned some things from the last interrogation, and perhaps you want some things clarified from the last interrogation, and I want to be fair with you, and by like token, be fair with this committee.

Now will you tell us about your past education?

Mr. HINTON. Well, I graduated from high school, Putney High School, Putney, Vt., and I went on a year later to Harvard College. I studied 2 years at Harvard College and transferred then to the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University. I graduated from Cornell University in 1941.

Senator WELKER. Now, is this fair, Mr. Hinton? You did finish your work at Putney College? You graduated from Putney?

Mr. HINTON. I graduated, with a high school diploma—

Senator WELKER. High school.

Mr. HINTON (continuing). From Putney School.

Senator WELKER. And then you went from there to Harvard for 2 years?

Mr. HINTON. That is right.

Senator WELKER. Did you finish your work at Harvard?

Mr. HINTON. I didn't get a degree at Harvard University. I transferred, with credit, to Cornell University.

Senator WELKER. And did you graduate from Cornell University?

Mr. HINTON. I graduated from Cornell University with a degree, a B. S. degree, in Agriculture.

Senator WELKER. And that was in what year, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. 1941, as I just stated.

Senator WELKER. 1941.

Now is that all the degrees you have?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, I believe we talked about your armed services record before. Were you a member of the armed services? Did you join the Army in 1939 or in World War II?

Mr. HINTON. No, I did not.

Senator WELKER. You were a conscientious objector, were you not?

Mr. HINTON. I was for about a year and a half or 2 years. I changed my mind and asked for a reclassification. I went before the medical examination and was rejected for the Army.

Senator WELKER. You were rejected because of 4-F? Is that what they call it?

Mr. HINTON. It was a perforated eardrum.

Senator WELKER. I see.

Mr. HINTON. And I was rejected from the Army.

Senator WELKER. And then after you were rejected, following your conscientious objection to serving your country, then what governmental work, if any, did you do?

Mr. HINTON. Well, sometime after that I got a job with the Office of War Information.

Senator WELKER. OWI?

Mr. HINTON. It was known as the OWI.

Senator WELKER. How did you get that job?

Mr. HINTON. Well, as I stated before, I made an application. It was accepted, and I was hired.

Senator WELKER. Had you done much writing prior to that?

Mr. HINTON. Well, I had a period of employment in Japan in the year 1937, I believe, as a newspaper reporter for the Japan Advertiser.

Senator WELKER. I see.

And that was the qualification that got you your job in OWI?

Mr. HINTON. Yes, yes.

Senator WELKER. Did you give any references in your application to OWI for employment?

Mr. HINTON. I don't remember whether I did so or not.

Senator WELKER. I see.

Now, tell me a little bit more about this Putney School. Your mother is very prominent at this institution, is she not? Isn't she a supervisor or something there, or my memory does not serve me correctly? And by this statement, Mr. Hinton, I do not want to infer that Putney School is not a fine educational institution. I

think some of our very best people have gone there. I am not trying to embarrass the institution.

Mr. HINTON. I would like to object to questioning me about my mother.

Senator WELKER. Do you think it would incriminate you if I asked you whether or not your mother helped establish and taught at that school?

Mr. HINTON. I didn't say that. I just don't think it is in keeping with the American tradition to——

Senator WELKER. I am not going to get into bad things about your mother, Mr. Hinton. You know better than that.

Mr. HINTON (continuing). To talk about their family members.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Now, would it not be nice—would you not be proud of the fact—if you testified that your mother was connected in a high capacity with that institution?

Mr. HINTON. Anywhere but under such conditions, I certainly would.

Senator WELKER. Now, I expect to go into a few matters involving your sister. And I merely want the record to show that your mother had been connected with Putney School, and I am not about to infer anything bad of Putney School, but I do want to get a little background about it. And I hope you will cooperate with me, Mr. Hinton.

Mr. HINTON. Did you have a question, then?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Does your mother still occupy quite a position at Putney School?

Mr. HINTON. My mother is retired as of June last year.

Senator WELKER. She retired as of June last year. Hasn't she occupied a sort of executive position there, one of the head people at Putney School?

Mr. HINTON. We went all through this before in the other hearing, and——

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Hinton, please——

Mr. HINTON. I don't really see the necessity for going through all this again.

Senator WELKER. I know. But you do not happen to be calling signals up there.

Mr. HINTON. This committee should not haul in names of people and other people so as to make a big list in the press. But I don't really see——

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Hinton, there is not any desire on the part of the committee to make a big list of names for the press or anything else. You are the gentleman who is up here for interrogation and I expect to ask you honorable and fair questions. I am never trying to entrap you or take advantage of you. I think your counsel will tell you that I would not do that, and no member of the committee would.

But you are not going to call the turnoff periods in this interrogation. Counsel and I and the committee will do our best to conduct this hearing as we see fit. In any interrogation, of course, there are questions that might seem irrelevant to you. But to us, we feel we would like to know, and I hope you will cooperate, Mr. Hinton.

Mr. HINTON. As I answered before this hearing, my mother was the founder and the director of the Putney School.

Senator WELKER. I am glad to hear you say that, sir.

Now will you tell us about the board of directors? I believe you told me that Owen Lattimore was on the board of trustees or directors of that institution.

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. No; I did not so testify. And as far as I know, he never was on the board of directors.

Senator WELKER. Well, did he have any capacity with the Putney School that you know of?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Hinton, I want to call this to your attention. We are so happy to have your able counsel here with you. He is here as a guest of the committee, and you are entitled to ask him for advice. But let me admonish you that every question, you are not supposed to ask him how to answer.

If you think that I am asking a question that invades your rights as a citizen, then, of course, you should ask your able attorney. But I do not want any inference going out that you, Mr. Hinton, did not testify, but that you had to ask your counsel. I am sure of that. We want to make that clear, because I know you do not intend to do that.

Mr. HINTON. Well, you are drawing that inference, not I.

Senator WELKER. I noticed you are conferring with him on every question. So naturally, I have a right to infer what you are conferring about. I merely want to admonish you that you are the witness, and not your counsel.

Mr. HINTON. I realize that I am the witness, and I have a right at any time to confer with counsel concerning the answer to questions.

Senator WELKER. That is right. Counsel, of course, cannot tell you how to answer the question. I am sure he would not offer to.

Mr. HINTON. Well, you are inferring that.

Senator WELKER. All right. Now, what is your last question propounded to the witness, Mr. Reporter?

(The question was read by the reporter.)

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. He had none that I know of.

Senator WELKER. He had none that you know of. Very well.

Now, I wonder if you would cooperate with me to this extent. You say that you have spoken all over the country from west to east. Did you ever speak out in the State of Washington or the State of Idaho?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I spoke in the—wait a minute. You said, the State of Washington?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. HINTON. No; I didn't speak in Washington.

Senator WELKER. Did you speak in the State of Idaho?

Mr. HINTON. No. I don't recall it, no.

Senator WELKER. Do you recall, Mr. Hinton, whether or not you ever had any scheduled speeches either in the State of Washington, eastern Washington, or northern Idaho?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I don't recall—

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. HINTON (continuing). Having had any scheduled.

Senator WELKER. Where did you speak out West, then?

Mr. HINTON. Well, again, I would like to protest that I don't feel you have any right to ask a citizen where he spoke.

Senator WELKER. I know. I suppose it would be awful if I asked you whether or not you spoke to the Young Men's Athletic Society at Putney School. But I am going to ask the questions. And even though you do not agree with them, I hope that you would answer them as best you can, Mr. Hinton. And if I do not make myself clear or if I infringe upon your constitutional rights, I am sure you will call it to my attention.

Mr. HINTON. Well, I am calling it to your attention. And I know that you don't recognize refusal to answer on that basis, but at the same time I want to make it clear that I believe that is my constitutional right.

Senator WELKER. I believe you have made that clear. You have told me that at least 10 times, already, that you do not like my interrogation about where you spoke.

Mr. HINTON. Right.

Senator WELKER. Now, then, we have gone into this matter, and I think we can proceed, Mr. Hinton, if you will just come along. I am not going to carry you all over the waterfront, but I am quite interested in where you spoke out West. Now will you tell us?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. Well, I decline to answer that on the grounds previously stated, of the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Hinton, I do not want to argue law with you or your counsel. You have told us that you did not speak in Idaho; you did not speak in Washington. Now when I ask you where you did speak, you are going to claim the fifth amendment.

Now, I do not believe that is the purport of the fifth amendment. We are not here to decide matters of Federal jurisdiction.

I do not believe you are being exactly fair with the committee when you say that in certain areas you did not speak, and then you will not tell me where you did speak.

Mr. HINTON. Have you a question?

Senator WELKER. No. I am just making my position clear, as you have.

Mr. HINTON. All right.

Senator WELKER. You still do not want to tell me where you spoke?

Mr. HINTON. I stand on the same answer.

Senator WELKER. You stand on the fifth amendment.

Now, what does your family consist of? Are you a married man?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WELKER. And naturally, I can say this to you, Counsel. I am not going into that. I just want to get the background of Mr. Hinton.

Mr. HINTON. Not now.

Senator WELKER. Not now.

Any children?

Mr. HINTON. I have one daughter.

Senator WELKER. So do I.

And do you have any sisters or brothers?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I would like to know the legislative purpose of going into all this.

Senator WELKER. Well, the legislative purpose, Mr. Hinton—and I will make it very clear to you—is that this committee is sitting for the purpose of receiving evidence and testimony which might help us to pass some legislation that will protect our country's internal security, and I am sure you quite well understand that.

You will know the purpose of it a little later in case I have—

Mr. HINTON. Well, I am interested in the internal security of this country, too, and I would suggest to the chairman that the investigation start with the chairman of this committee, who has been organizing defiance of the Supreme Court throughout the South for the last several months, and is leading to a very dangerous situation for our country.

Senator WELKER. That is very fine. I am sure that the American people will be the judges of this.

From some of the exhibits that I expect to confront you with, we will find out whether or not the distinguished chairman of this committee is a better American than you are.

Mr. HINTON. I think that my point is very valid, and I think this committee is wasting its time looking into this matter when you have such an obvious violation and breach of the Constitution of this country—

Senator WELKER. I am not going to argue with you, Mr. Hinton—

Mr. HINTON (continuing). And the basis of our—

Senator WELKER (continuing). And you are not going to get me on any sidetrack. You know exactly why you are here, and you are not going to try Senator Eastland, Senator Welker, Senator Jenner, Senator McClellan, or Senator Watkins, or any other member of the Internal Security Subcommittee.

We did not ask for this job. The people of the United States gave it to us, and we are doing our best to try to do that work. And it is not fun. If you think it is fun to work as we have to work in this committee, you are all wrong, Mr. Hinton.

Mr. HINTON. I am just making a suggestion.

Senator WELKER. Very well, now.

Mr. HINTON. That is what I think is the valid study.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, I have had a discussion with you before in which you desire to argue all the time. But I am going to insist and demand from this time hence that your answer be responsive, and your argumentative answers are going to be stricken, and I am going to order you not to argue with the committee any longer.

Now, in that way, I am sure we will carry this matter along and get along a lot better.

Now, do you want to tell me about your family, whether you have any sisters or brothers?

Mr. HINTON. I would like to ask what or how this question hinges on internal security, whether I have any sisters or brothers.

Senator WELKER. I am ordering and directing you to answer that question. I am not up here to submit to questioning by you, sir.

I want to be fair with you. Now will you tell me? And then I will develop it. Do not think that I will not develop the matter. I want to get—

Mr. HINTON. I have two sisters.

Senator WELKER. One is named Jean Hinton, I believe, and the other Joan; is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. I have a sister named Jean and a sister named Joan.

Senator WELKER. Do you know where Jean is today?

Mr. HINTON. No; I don't know where Jean is today.

Senator WELKER. When was the last time you heard from her?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I am in touch with my sister Jean from time to time, as any brother would be.

Senator WELKER. Surely. I admire you for that, sir.

When was the last time that you heard from Jean? Where was she living at that time, Mr. Hinton?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. The last time I heard from her she was living in Cambridge, Mass.

Senator WELKER. Cambridge, Mass.

Now, your sister Joan, where does she live?

Mr. HINTON. I think it is rather ridiculous that you have tried to serve and issue a subpoena on my sister Joan when, as I testified before in the hearing, she was in Sian, China.

Senator WELKER. And that is behind the Iron Curtain in Red China?

Mr. HINTON. That is in the——

Senator WELKER. Sir?

Mr. HINTON. That is in the People's Republic of China.

Senator WELKER. The People's Republic of China. That is a new name that some people use for being—I mean, maybe mine is wrong—behind the Iron Curtain. In other words, it is in what we call Communist China; is that right?

Mr. HINTON. As far as I know, Secretary Dulles refers to this country as the People's Republic of China.

Senator WELKER. All right. I do not care how Secretary Dulles refers to it. I am asking you, is it in Communist China or is it on Formosa with Chiang Kai-shek?

Mr. HINTON. It is in the People's Republic of China.

Senator WELKER. Yes. And when was the last time you saw your sister, Joan Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. As I testified before, I decline to answer questions about my sister on the grounds of the fifth amendment, as previously stated.

Senator WELKER. You did see her after she went behind the Iron Curtain in Communist China; did you not?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. You decline to answer that. Do you think a truthful answer to that might tend to incriminate you, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. My answer is the same.

Senator WELKER. Now would you mind telling me something about your sister Joan? She was, as put into the record a moment ago, quite a scientist; is that correct?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer questions about my sister.

Senator WELKER. You decline to answer any questions about your sister?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. Upon the ground that it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. HINTON. On the ground previously stated.

Senator WELKER. Very well. That covers it, pursuant to our stipulation.

Will you say whether or not your sister Joan ever worked on the Manhattan Project, in atomic energy work?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever visit your sister after she started the study of nuclear physics and many ramifications about the atomic energy scientific research?

Mr. HINTON. I stand on the same answer.

Senator WELKER. You stand on the same answer.

Did you or your sister ever visit the ranch of J. Robert Oppenheimer, the so-called discoverer of the atomic bomb, out in New Mexico?

Mr. HINTON. The same answer.

Senator WELKER. Upon the ground that if you gave me a truthful answer it would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer.

Senator WELKER. Well, maybe you will refresh your memory.

When you were before the committee before, I think I interrogated you, and possibly Senator Johnston of South Carolina or Senator Jenner of Indiana did so. You told me that your sister Joan was working on a dairy ranch in China; is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. Now, you are testifying about your sister, but I am not going to take advantage of a technicality.

What experience had she ever had with respect to dairying?

Mr. HINTON. I refuse to discuss my sister, on the grounds previously stated.

Senator WELKER. You do want to tell me, though, that she is working on a dairy ranch?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. What your question was, was about the questioning last time?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. HINTON. That she was working on a dairy ranch?

Senator WELKER. Yes. I believe I interrogated you on that, did I not, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. I don't remember.

Well, my answer is the same as last time, that she was and is working on a dairy farm——

Senator WELKER. Now, what is she doing on this dairy farm?

Mr. HINTON. Well, we went into that last time, and as I recall, I told you that I didn't know her exact duties there, but that she is working on a dairy farm.

Senator WELKER. I asked you whether or not she was milking cows, feeding cows, or caring for cows; did I not?

Mr. HINTON. And the answer was that I did not know her exact duties. I think you then said, "General duties around a dairy farm," and I agreed with that answer.

Senator WELKER. Yes. You think she is doing general duties around a dairy farm. Do you think she has given up her scientific

research with respect to atomic energy and things of that nature, or is she using that in helping to run the dairy farm?

Mr. HINTON. I think on these, as to my sister, what I have answered I answer again as to that. As to that question and other similar questions, I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. Now, tell me this: How do you know that she is working on a dairy farm in the People's Republic of China, or, as I term it, the Communist Chinese area?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WELKER. How do you know? You stated she was there. Now, how do you know she was there?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds as previously stated.

Senator WELKER. After you tell me that she is working on a dairy farm, in what you call the People's Republic of China, now you are coming back and claiming the fifth amendment and saying you refuse to answer as to how you know she is behind the Iron Curtain, or in the People's Republic. Now, let us be consistent, Mr. Hinton, please.

Mr. HINTON. Did you have a question? Did you put that in the form of a question?

Senator WELKER. Yes; I did.

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. One minute you tell me that you know she works on a dairy farm in what you term the People's Republic of China. And then when I ask you how do you know she works there, you refuse to answer?

Mr. HINTON. That is right.

Senator WELKER. And you refuse to answer upon the ground that a truthful answer might tend to incriminate you; is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. We went through that before, and I think you stated that one time would answer that, and make that clear on what grounds I was standing.

Senator WELKER. Yes. You are standing on the fifth amendment on all these matters, because I do not want to confuse you, and I am sure you do not want to confuse the committee. We want that very clear as to your reasons, and I will not bring the matter up again.

Did you ever meet with your sister in the People's Republic of China?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. You never even had a social visit with her? You never had a visit where you said, "Hello," to her; "How are you getting along?" and so forth?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Do you know where she worked here in the United States before she went over to the People's Republic of China?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. You do know that she worked on the Manhattan project and that she was with Oppenheimer out at Los Alamos; do you not?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. You are quite proud of her proficiency as a physicist and a nuclear expert, a scientist; are you not?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. And you still want to decline to say whether or not you and your sister Joan—yes, your entire family—were invited to use Robert Oppenheimer's ranch out in New Mexico as a sort of vacation spot; is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Do you know anything about Mr. Oppenheimer's ranch out in New Mexico?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that.

Senator WELKER. You have been in China, haven't you?

Mr. HINTON. I think I made it very clear the last time I was before this committee about my experience in China.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Once again, I am going to tell you that you are not going to rehash the defense that you were once before this committee. You may be before this committee eight more times, I have no way of knowing, but you are going to answer the questions propounded to you, Mr. Hinton.

You went over to China first, as I understand it, with the Office of War Information; is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. What did you do over there?

Mr. HINTON. Well, my title was that of a propaganda analyst.

Senator WELKER. A propaganda analyst?

Mr. HINTON. That is right. I was analyzing Japanese propaganda for the OWI.

Senator WELKER. And did you analyze any Communist propaganda for the OWI?

Mr. HINTON. My job was to analyze propaganda—

Senator WELKER. That isn't an answer—I am asking—

Mr. HINTON (continuing). Of the Japanese.

Senator WELKER. Did you analyze any Communist propaganda for the OWI?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Not that I recall. I don't think I ever did.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

How long did you remain in China while you were with the OWI?

Mr. HINTON. Well, it was approximately 6 months.

Senator WELKER. And did you ever visit any prisoner-of-war camps of our Korean veterans who were captured by the Red Chinese?

Mr. HINTON. As I stated before, I never did visit any prisoner-of-war camps.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever see any Americans over there?

Mr. HINTON. Any Americans where?

Senator WELKER. Over in Red China.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I am not clear on this, whether you are referring to prisoners or Americans in general.

Senator WELKER. I did refer to prisoners and you told me you did not, I believe. I asked if you had visited a prisoner-of-war camp. Let us make it this way:

Did you visit any Americans who were prisoners in Red China, not necessarily being in a camp?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. No; I didn't visit anyone who was a prisoner or in a prisoner-of-war camp.

Senator WELKER. Were you familiar with any publications that were printed over there at that time? Let me refer, say, to China Monthly Review; did you ever see that?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the ground previously stated.

Senator WELKER. Well, did you see Life magazine over there or Time or Country Gentleman, anything like that?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. As to—you mentioned Life magazine, I think.

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. HINTON. I saw it occasionally.

Senator WELKER. Well, did you see the China Monthly Review over there?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. Is there some difference between the two magazines?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question, on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever meet a man by the name of Powell who is the editor and publisher of the China Monthly Review?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that.

(Articles written by Betty Graham, S. E. Shifrin, and Edward Rohrbough, from the February 22, 1947, issue of the China Weekly Review (later the China Monthly Review), found in Hinton's footlocker, were later ordered printed in the record at this point as exhibit No. 23.)

EXHIBIT No. 23

UNEXPURGATED VERSION OF CHIANG'S BOOK WINS PUBLISHERS' BATTLE

(By Edward Rohrbough)

NEW YORK, February 1.—The battle of the books has been one of the most interesting reflections in the United States of China's civil war. The battle of the books is the ruckus by which the large and affluent Macmillan Co. entered into a race with Roy Publishers, a little-known house, in an effort to bring out the authorized Kuomintang translation of Chiang Kai-shek's China's Destiny before Roy could get the complete and unexpurgated edition to the bookstalls.

The scrap wound up in something close to a deadheat. Roy had originally announced its publication date as February 24 when it heard for the first time that Macmillan was bringing out the authorized edition February 18. Accusations were made by Roy that Macmillan was trying, as an instrument of the Kuomintang, to smother the complete edition, so it advanced its date.

Macmillan disavowed any part in the race, but advanced its own publishing date to February 4, and finally, when Roy said privately that it would bring its translation out 2 days before Macmillan, Macmillan managed to hit the market January 28, 4 days after Roy was out January 24.

OMISSIONS PLENTIFUL

Thus, the race and the reasons given and disavowed brought far more publicity to a pretty dull book than it otherwise might have received. Reviewers began asking lots of hitherto obscured questions. Why had the Kuomintang so diligently suppressed the complete version in China, after first circulating it widely? Why had the American State Department kept its own translation "top secret" even from Representative Hugh DeLacy, when the Congressman wanted a look at it a couple of years back?

Low Gannett of the Herald Tribune confessed he couldn't guess the answer. The authorized version left out many comments about the western imperialist powers which were in the original, true, and it also omitted important quota-

tions from Sun Yat-sen's writings, about land reforms because, Gannett surmises, "some of Chiang's followers might take them too seriously." But Gannett doesn't see the reason for all the secrecy, though he gives Philip Jaffe credit for a very thorough job of annotating the complete version.

Orville Prescott of the New York Times is more discerning. Concluding, as does Gannett, that the generalissimo or somebody has written a very bad book, full of vagaries and barren of plans or promise for a democratic future, Prescott finds some significant quotations in the Jaffe edition that are not to be found in the "authorized" version—and Prescott uses quotation marks around the "authorized."

KMT AND YOUTH CORPS

One is the following:

"Adult citizens must join the Kuomintang and youthful citizens must join the Youth Corps—only then will the happiness of the entire nation be safeguarded, the interest of the state be protected, and permanent security for the nation and the state be assured."

And Prescott comments, "In all his talk of reform, Chiang Kai-shek never once mentions reforming the glaring abuses of his own regime. This is natural, perhaps, but discouraging * * * One can only conclude that the destiny he forsee[s] for China will fit into China's ancient tradition of centralized authority, or that it will conform to modern totalitarianism. Whichever it will be, if he has his way, it doesn't look as if it would be democratic."

Now the battle of the books has gone into the stores, and in Scribner's and Brentano's, 2 of the largest stores in New York, the 2 editions are on display side by side. According to salesmen, the Roy edition is outselling the Macmillan book by something like 2-to-1, though it costs \$3.50 as compared with \$2.75 for the Macmillan book.

BOOK VERY DULL

The salesmen are inclined to give Roy credit for superior makeup and printing, and it is true that the exterior appearance of the Roy volume is relatively imposing. Which is all to the good, since it's more than an even money bet that the exterior of the book is about what most buyers will see of the book. It is, either in its complete form or in the "authorized" revision, a very dull book.

The one material effect of the battle of the books has been a loss of stature of Chiang Kai-shek in America. Prescott's review is a good example of this effect, for the Times reviewer is one who has been more than passing kind to the Kuomintang government and such of its luminaries as have blossomed into print from time to time. Yet even he can no longer see the generalissimo as the Moses who will lead the Chinese people out of the wilderness of civil war. Other reviewers have expressed various degrees of Prescott's opinion. To date, none have differed.

And incidentally, Lin Yu-tang has lost stature, too, by his preface to the "authorized" version. No reviewer has yet found that Dr. Lin did otherwise than write words which filled the first page or so without saying anything of importance. But there are many Americans who feel that Dr. Lin began slipping when he gave up writing about Chinese life and culture and began experting on Chinese politics—from the United States.

COMMUNIST CHINA'S LAND REFORM

(By Betty Graham)

The year 1946 marked the end of the feudal era in Shantung province. By New Year's Day, the land reform program was virtually completed. One-third of the area's 30 million inhabitants had received new lands to till, and hardly a farmer remained who had not enough land to banish the threat of starvation from his family's hut. Big landlords, the ruling caste of China throughout the Nation's prolonged dark ages, have become an extinct species. Middle and small landlords were strictly supervised by an aroused peasantry so that their holdings could no longer be used to exploit tenant farmers.

All of this was accomplished in a period of 7 months. During this same period, Chiang Kai-shek issued numerous statements in Nanking on the subject of peace and democracy, while Kuomintang troops attacked Shantung almost without

pause. The provincial authorities were forced to pigeonhole their newly adopted peacetime production program and mobilize the countryside once again for war. But none of these developments halted the steady, methodical execution of the land reform program, which the Kuomintang fears above all else, knowing it to be the Communists' only "secret" weapon—a weapon far more effective than any new type of armament for dealing the death blow to Chiang's presently constituted regime.

TWO-FLANKED ATTACK

The land reform program unloosed a two-flanked attack against the foundations of Chiang Kai-shek's power. By breaking up large land concentrations and wiping out big landlordism, it threatens to destroy the only group which has consistently supported Chiang's dictatorship since his 1927 coup d'etat. The reform also leaves in tatters all the anti-Communist propaganda with which Chiang has tried to frighten dissident elements into believing that Kuomintang rule was the lesser of two evils. According to Chiang's many mouthpieces, who are still giving voice to the most outdated redbaiting bromides, the Communists intend to strip each person of his hard-earned wealth—to collectivize land, to nationalize commerce and industry and to abolish all private property.

Although the Chinese Communists have long based their policies on the principle that China cannot leap from feudalism to communism in one jump, but must pass through a capitalist stage in which the Nation will become sufficiently industrialized to sustain a socialist economy, the Kuomintang has continuously warned against accepting this platform at face value. If once the Communists were to gain complete control of an area, the Nanking regime has cautioned, such policies would be quickly superseded by others instigating the economic rape of the "haves" by the "have-nots." With the aid of a rigidly controlled press, such views have received fairly wide acceptance in Kuomintang areas.

For more than a year now, the Communists have been in complete control of areas with a population equal to that of the United States. All of these areas have started land redistribution, the cornerstone of the Communists' reform program through which they intend to build a new economy for China out of the chaotic remains of centuries-old feudalism.

SHANTUNG AN EXAMPLE

Shantung province, since it has practically finished its land reform program, offers a concrete example of what Communist-led administrations will and will not do when they come into power. While each border region government is free to carry out its land reforms in the manner best adapted to local conditions, the Shantung land redistribution procedure can be considered representative of basic policies adopted in all other liberated areas.

Land redistribution was introduced as a Government-sponsored policy in June last year. However, initial attempts to put the program into effect were decidedly hit-and-miss since no one had any prior experience in the matter. Many villages had to carry out their reforms a second time later in the year to remedy mistakes and halfmeasures left over from the first attempt.

By October, as the program swung into its climax, the provincial government had received enough reports from the countryside analyzing earlier successes and failures to draw up a formal procedure for implementing the program. This document, entitled "Resolutions on Land Reform in Shantung Province," was issued on October 25, 1946, following adoption by the Permanent Committee and Administrative Committee of the Shantung People's Representative Assembly (an elected body comprising the highest authority in the Province).

NOT ANTICAPITALISTIC

The regulation specifically safeguards commercial and industrial enterprises, stressing this policy wherever various aspects of the land reform program touch upon such interests. For instance, the resolution declares that the reform program is "directed solely against forms of feudal exploitation" and not against capitalism. Article 29 states: "Landlords who have carried out the provisions of this resolution and who have shown a sympathetic attitude toward the land reform program shall enjoy adequate rewards from the Government and shall be aided in transferring their activities to industrial and commercial enterprises." The following clause adds that "legal industrial and commercial enterprises of landlords and rich farmers shall not be attached for payment of debts to the peasantry."

The question of land ownership is set forth in three clauses which guarantee private property rights. The document states that "full right of ownership shall be transferred to the peasant receiving land under this program," adding for further emphasis, "the land shall be entirely at his disposal." The procedure of transferring land titles or issuing new deeds is outlined extensively, including the reassurance to new land holders that "previous deeds of ownership shall be publicly annulled and burned."

Only a few categories of land are eligible for outright confiscation by the Government. These consist of "all lands owned by Japanese or puppet government enterprises," "land owned by high-ranking traitors," "public lands which have been illegally seized by landlords," and "black lands" (property that has not been registered with the Government in an effort to evade taxation or to obstruct land reform).

LAND FOR REDISTRIBUTION

Therefore, most of the land made available for redistribution is obtained through three other procedures. These are, in order of importance, by seizure of land for repayment of old debts to the peasantry, by voluntary contribution of land, and by forced sale of excessive holdings.

Seizure of land for repayment of debts to the peasantry is one of the most essential factors in the reform program. It is also an innovation providing a major departure from the Communist's prewar land redistribution policy, as carried out in the Shan-Kan-Ning (Yenan) border region. At that time, the Government itself conducted the program, confiscated all large holdings and handled the redistribution. Now, however, the Government has mainly an advisory role and the entire process is conducted by local villagers through their peasant organizations. For this reason, a village can only undertake the reform when local peasants demand such action, which accounts for the fact that reforms are not yet completed in a few backward villages where traditional fear of landlords is still strong.

The policy of taking over land for restitution to the peasantry developed logically from two wartime mass movements carried out in areas regained from the Japanese. In the early war years, Communist land reform was limited to a rent-reduction ordinance issued in 1941. This regulation, based on Kuomintang legislation passed in 1933 but never enforced, cut all land rents by one-quarter. Each village, as it became sufficiently organized and awakened to present rights, convened meetings at which tenants spoke up and publically accused their landlords of failure to comply with the order, also lodging complaints regarding other violations of lease agreements. On the basis of testimony presented before such rural tribunals, the landlords' illegal exactions since the order went into effect were tabulated and they were obliged to make restitution, either in kind or in land.

ACCUSATION MEETINGS

Once this conception that a landlord could be held accountable for specific deeds of exploitation had been widely accepted, it was natural that the peasantry demanded further restitution for other common forms of exploitation not necessarily connected with leases—such as exorbitant grain or labor conscription. This peasant demand swelled in volume until it shaped into a mass accusation movement, centered around "Chiang Li Hui" or accusation meetings.

When the war ended, this new phase of the peasant movement spread from the old liberated areas to regions just recovered from Japanese or puppet rule, where the peasantry had a bottomless reservoir of grievances against puppet leaders and other Japanese collaborators. But as these impromptu war crimes trials got underway, it became evident that most of the accused had incurred debts in excess of their entire resources. It has long been a basic Communist policy that no person, however reactionary, except those convicted for major crimes, should be deprived of all means of livelihood. Therefore, it became necessary for the provincial authorities to step in to coordinate the accusation movement. At the same time, the provincial leaders directed the movement into land reform channels by specifying that restitution for all types of previous illegal exploitation could be made in terms of land.

One of the longest and most complicated sections of the land resolutions deals with the question of how much property should be left to the landlord's family, regardless of the size of his debts. For this purpose, landlords are grouped into various categories in accordance with their past behavior and degree of power over the peasantry. Those having the worst records are left

with less land than the average middle peasant in their locality. The resolution explains parenthetically: "For instance, if the average middle farmer of a given village owns 3 mow (Note: 1 mow is one-sixteenth of an acre) of land for each member of his family, the landlord family of this type would retain $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 mow per capita." Middle and small landlords are allowed to keep 50 percent more land than a middle peasant, similarly computed on a per capita basis. Progressive landlords—such as those who have actively supported the anti-Japanese war, or those having a member of their immediate family in the army or government or in one of the people's mass organizations—are allowed twice as much land as a middle peasant.

COMPULSORY LAND SALES

These standards are also the basis for carrying out the compulsory land sale aspect of the program. In some instances, though generally only in the old liberated areas where landlords' exploitation has already been curtailed for some years, a landlord may still own large concentrations of land after repaying all the debts against him. Under such circumstance, the difference between his remaining holdings and the allowed standards prescribed above will be taken over with compensation. The price paid for such land is determined by a conference among representatives of the Government, peasants, and landlords. In general, the price set is below market value, decreasing in inverse proportion to the size of the holdings involved but not dropping below one-half the market price. The sale price is fixed in terms of grain (a proposal advocated by the landlords) and will be paid in 10 annual installments, half by the government and half by the peasant who takes over the land.

Practical experience has shown, however, that little land is actually taken over with compensation. The majority of landlords have quickly volunteered to contribute land once their village starts on the reform program. They hope thereby to forestall accusations against themselves and also to preserve their best lands, some of which might otherwise be taken from them. In addition, since the land tax and conscription of grain and labor increase progressively with the size of property, and since wages for agricultural laborers have risen sharply, many landowners prefer to pare down their holdings to amounts which they can efficiently cultivate by family manpower. As a result of such reasoning, the amount of land acquired through contribution has in many villages exceeded the amount taken over in payment of debts.

The resolution contains provision safeguarding the interest of absentee landlords, including those who fled to Kuomintang cities upon the Communists' arrival. Although the reform is still carried out in their absence, the property legally retained by such landlords will be held in trust by the Government until they return to claim their assets. The resolution further specifies in article 29: "The land and other property of landlords, following completion of the land reform program, shall have the full legal protection of the Government."

SOLDIERS, BEGGARS, LOAFERS

Families of Kuomintang military personnel may share in the land allocations if classified as poor peasants, according to article 23. Another clause, which states that unemployed laborers and impoverished city families are entitled to land quotas, continues: "Beggars and loafers shall also receive an allotment so that they may reform themselves into productive farmers."

The question of mission property is dealt with in article 14, as follows: "Disposal of lands sold by temples and missions, as well as clan property which finances ancestral worship, shall be determined by joint agreement among the villagers, clan elders, and members of the religious organizations involved. At the demand of the peasantry, such lands shall be distributed, exempting sufficient property to provide the missionaries, monks, nuns, etc., with an adequate livelihood."

By far the greatest proportion of land distributed went to landless peasants or those with insufficient land to provide a living. The economic status of the various eligible peasants, the size of their families, and their wartime records were all taken into consideration in allocating specific plots. For instance, families who have had a member killed in the war and dependents of army or Government personnel received first choice of the most fertile or conveniently located fields. Honorably discharged soldiers are also given preferential treatment, and each village set aside some lands to be held for soldiers who will return in the future.

FEAR STILL PLAYS ROLE

The major obstacle to starting the reform was fear among backward elements of the peasantry that the Kuomintang might retake the area and return landlords to their former power. The problem had to be met by village leaders through an intensive educational campaign to convince the peasants that if they organized themselves into a strong enough force, they themselves could prevent the Kuomintang's return.

The extent to which this viewpoint has been accepted by the peasants is indicated by the remarkable speed with which the provincewide land program has been put into effect. Further evidence was provided by the response to one question which this writer put to more than 50 farmers. Asked "Are you not afraid that if the Kuomintang recaptures this area, you will be punished for taking this new land," almost every peasant replied somewhat as follows: "I don't believe the Kuomintang can ever come back here again because we have our army to protect us. But even if they did come, I would not be afraid—all of us will fight as long as we can, and if we cannot fight we will run away as we did when the Japanese came."

These are not empty words, as shown by the fact that almost 100,000 Shantung farmers have volunteered as recruits for the Communist army since August, when the mobilization campaign was launched. The Shantung peasants, who have already demonstrated their courage in demanding the right to cultivate land of their own, are now fully determined to defend their newly acquired property, and to resist any attempts to force them back to the feudal era.

TIENTSIN STARTS OFF NEW YEAR WITH VIOLENCE; TRAIN HELD UP

By S. E. Shifrin (Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

TIENTSIN, February 13.—Announcement of American withdrawal from executive headquarters and departure of the 1st Marine Division from Peiping and Tientsin in the near future put North China back in the newspaper headlines of the world press. It was also the biggest sensation on the spot when the news was flashed back from the United States. Of great local interest were the direct and indirect economic repercussions of the move, including that of several thousand civilian employees facing the prospect of losing their jobs.

The Peiping-Tientsin area started off the year with isolated cases of violence, and accidental hand-grenade explosions, both before and after the announcement of the Marines' withdrawal. The Investigation Section of Tientsin garrison headquarters was reported to be conducting a strict checkup of armed men from pacification units of areas outside Tientsin. Reason for the move was the fact that many robberies committed over the Chinese New Year involved men wearing uniforms of the Chinese Armed Forces and military insignia.

5 DIE IN EXPLOSIONS

Both Peiping and Tientsin were scenes of accidents involving Chinese military personnel. Early in January a machinegunner of the CNA described by the press as drunken was killed in Peiping when a grenade which he was carrying exploded. In Tientsin 4 were killed and 4 injured in an accident during a performance in one of the cinemas in Chinese city. The soldier killed was apparently fingering the hand grenade he was carrying when it exploded.

The commanding officer of the Transport Corps unit to which he belonged later declared that soldiers under his command were not equipped with hand grenades of this type. He added that they were forbidden to carry weapons in the city. One of the four dead was the manager of a store in Tsanghsien who had come to town to celebrate the Lunar New Year.

Periodic disruption of the Peiping-Tientsin Railway was being taken for granted when what may be the most audacious train holdup ever staged in North China occurred on February 4. Three unidentified Chinese involved were either on board when the train pulled out of Peiping in the afternoon or jumped on when the train slowed down to avoid a possible accident in case some rails had been removed. In best Jesse James tradition they staged a holdup, later disappearing with the loot.

NEWSPAPER TALES VARY

Details of the robbery varied in different newspapers, one local paper describing the men as Communists and asserting that there were about 100 accomplices waiting outside near the tracks. The Ta Kung Pao account spoke of three bandits who robbed the passengers. All newspaper accounts kept mum about the railway guards who are usually aboard trains. Passengers who suffered losses had the cold comfort of registering them with the stationmaster in Tientsin when the train finally arrived, and up to the present seems to be the last they have heard about it.

Apart from a number of acts of hooliganism committed by Chinese teen-agers and others, toward foreigners here, and involving mainly Russians, the latest case of violence recorded as this is being written is the shooting of a German-Jewish DP employee of CNRRA Highway Transport while driving a truck along the Peiping-Tientsin highway. This is the first time that an employee of CNRRA has been killed while carrying out his duties in the area.

COLD WAVE GRIPS NORTH

Weather during the second part of January was also unusual for North China. It snowed for 4 days, with cold temperatures and high barometric pressure accompanying the snowfall, as a cold wave hit North China. Press wires hummed with stories of ships stranded in the ice. It is disappointing to state that this was probably caused by snow making visibility very poor.

Tangku Harbor, according to people responsible for keeping it open, was kept open by icebreakers and the only passenger ship on record which got marooned was the steamship *Hwa Lee*, caught by the ice in the Tangku New Harbor. The ship had to stay where it was for 10 days until January 31 when, due to a shortage of icebreakers, the ice was broken by hand labor. With ice 18 inches thick all round, the passengers could skate ashore or walk it.

Large drifting icefields were spotted up to 30 miles outside, leading some captains to believe that the river mouth of the Haiho was solidly frozen, while actually both it and the bar at Taku were also kept open by icebreakers. Pilots were delayed, for at times neither of the two icebreakers was immediately available to take them out to the ships. At the time boats had to navigate through broken up ice and on some ships captains new to the job and unused to ice were reluctant to try. There is still much ice at Taku Bar, making things difficult for lighters and low-powered vessels.

GOLD MARKET RAIDED

Maybe quotations for gold and United States currency were only following increases in the barometric pressure when local authorities in a move parallel to last year's clamped the lid on gold and United States dollar transactions. The black market for gold was raided during the middle of last week and some of the operators taken in by the police. The move came after quotations topped those in Shanghai but were still below those in Taiyuan, Shansi, where an ounce of gold was said to be worth a cool CN\$1,000,000.

For the last few days there have been no official market quotations for gold or greenbacks and no exchange shop will quote to a stranger. Transactions, however, are still carried on partly by street operators with the rate for greenbacks yesterday afternoon in the neighborhood of \$11,500-\$12,000. Two days ago with the rate momentarily up in Shanghai, buyers for a few hours had to bid up to CN\$16,000 to get anywhere and there was a \$2,000 spread between the buying and the selling rates.

INDEX UP 305 PERCENT IN 1946

As per prediction the index for December marked an all-time high for 1946, and the January index topped that. During the past year workers' cost of living increased from 1,412 times that of 1937 to 5,712 times—an increase of about 305 percent. As a compensation on an all-China scale Tientsin, as late as last November, lost its leadership in this class which it had held in January 1946 over Peiping, Nanking, and Shanghai. The latest comparative figures available here show Nanking leading in November, with Tientsin taking third place with 568,497, followed by Shanghai.

Index numbers for the month of January were 8,335 times wholesale prices in 1937, and 6,704 times the workers cost of living in 1937, an increase of 15.61

percent as compared with December. Wholesale prices for foodstuffs were up 22 percent during January, and fuel was the only item which registered a drop, after a rapid increase during November, of 5.39 percent in the workers' cost-of-living index, where clothing reached the peak of 14,762 times the prices in 1937. With the present state of the market even a cautious man would not be sticking his neck out if he were to predict that index numbers are far from having reached their peak.

Senator WELKER. What were you doing in the fall of 1946?
(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I was working as an organizer for the National Farmers Union.

Senator WELKER. And that was generally throughout the country, Mr. Hinton, as best you can remember?

Mr. HINTON. I was organizer in the northeastern division.

Senator WELKER. That would be up near your home State of Vermont and Maine and places of that nature?

Mr. HINTON. The northeastern division covers New York and New England.

Senator WELKER. New York and the whole New England area?

Mr. HINTON. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever organize for the Farmers Union in any areas other than the northeastern division?

Mr. HINTON. No; I did not.

Senator WELKER. Did you, while you were doing your organizing for the Farmers Union, did you ever report to the Communist Party as to your activities with respect to that organization?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINTON. The same answer; I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. As of this moment you still decline to answer this question: Whether or not you are now, as of this moment, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. When did you receive your subpoena to come before this subcommittee as of this meeting?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I received the subpoena on March 1, after I drove about 500 miles in order to meet the marshal there. I was away on a trip at the time.

Senator WELKER. I am sorry, Mr. Hinton, I did not hear that, but the reporter will read it back for me.

Will you read the answer?

(The answer was read.)

Senator WELKER. Yes, what I asked you or I intended to ask and I believe I did, when did you get the subpoena? Tell me about that.

Mr. HINTON. I got it on March 1, because your counsel got in touch with my attorney, and said that they had a subpoena and in order to facilitate serving it I came to New York to be served.

Senator WELKER. Do you know a Mr. Archie Wright?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. While I was employed by the northeastern division of the Farmers Union, Mr. Wright was president of that organization.

Senator WELKER. Did you have instructions from the Communist Party to seek employment as an organizer in the Farmers Union?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. I hate to hear you say that, Mr. Hinton, because there are thousands and thousands of very loyal Americans, members of the Farmers Union, and that I am convinced of.

And I believe you are giving a little bad reference to the Farmers Union. I am asking you—couldn't you help me a little bit and tell me whether or not you had received any instructions from the Communist Party to go ahead and work in that and organize the Communists in the Farmers Union?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Now, I want to turn this matter back to counsel, or to Senator Jenner and then I want to take you on another little trip.

Mr. HINTON. I would like to just protest that you are drawing inferences from my use of the fifth amendment which are not warranted to draw and you are trying to make a case against the Farmers Union because of my constitutional rights.

Senator WELKER. I am not trying to infer.

Mr. HINTON. I don't think it is the proper way to conduct a hearing.

Senator WELKER. The inferences that I might draw on this matter will be drawn by perhaps thousands of Americans throughout the land and you are the gentleman doing it—I did not.

Mr. HINTON. As you know, in any court of law, inferences may not be drawn.

Senator WELKER. Is that right?

Mr. HINTON. These hearings—

Senator WELKER. How long have you practiced law?

Mr. HINTON. These hearings are supposed to be, you have always—

Senator WELKER. How long have you practiced?

Mr. HINTON. (continuing). Made a case that your hearings are conducted in a similar fashion.

Senator WELKER. Just a minute now, you are getting into a matter I do not think you are quite as skilled on as OWI and running tractors in China. I am going to correct you and I think your able counsel will agree with me, that in many jurisdictions inferences amount to evidence, and even inference upon an inference.

So we are not going to get into the legal proposition. I have had a couple of days' experience in the practice of law, so please do not argue about that.

The inferences I might draw are from cross examination and the committee will have to draw the inferences. I am just one of the committee.

I think at this time I would like to take a little rest and turn the matter over to counsel, with your consent, Senator Jenner.

Senator JENNER (now presiding). Proceed. Will you proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, I wonder if you would look at the first picture immediately to the left of your head there.

(Witness turned.)

Mr. MORRIS. Directly behind your head, in line with the camera. Is that one of the pictures that has reposed in your foot locker, Mr. Hinton?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. As to this exhibit, I decline to answer questions on the grounds of the fourth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. On the fourth amendment?

Mr. HINTON. As you know, the fourth amendment provides, or insures against the illegal search and seizure without warrant of papers, specifically of citizens and says this right may not be violated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. HINTON. I protest this question on the grounds of the fourth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman—

Senator WELKER. I will overrule that objection.

Mr. MORRIS. The committee has put into the record the basis of its legal possession of these papers.

Senator WELKER. There is not any question about that, Counselor, I direct you to answer the question. I have overruled his objection.

At the same time would you tell me, Counselor, the exhibit you were pointing to?

Mr. MORRIS. That is the one Mr. Arens is now pointing to with the stick.

Senator WELKER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. The committee has reason to believe that picture was taken at the Asian Pacific Peace Conference held in Peiping in October 1953, and that the individuals there are American citizens who are listening to confessions—purported confessions of Americans—American fliers, captured American fliers, who are allegedly confessing that they have engaged in bacteriological warfare against the Chinese people.

Senator WELKER. How do you bring Mr. Hinton into this exhibit?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, that was in his possession. That photograph was in the possession of Mr. Hinton.

Senator WELKER. I see.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator WELKER. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. I haven't an answer to my question.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. He has invoked his privilege under the fourth amendment. I asked him to identify the picture and you have overruled him. And I am repeating the question, Mr. Hinton, is that a picture that you brought into the United States from occupied China?

Mr. HINTON. On the grounds of the first and fourth and the fifth amendments, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I have a ruling with respect to this claim of privilege under the first amendment.

Senator JENNER. Do you want me to rule?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Senator JENNER. The committee will not recognize your refusal to answer that question under the first or fourth amendments, but will recognize your right to refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Mr. Hinton, will you identify the American citizens who appear in that picture?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator WELKER. May it be agreed, Mr. Reporter, that every time that they consult together you show it on the record, counsel and client.

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the same three grounds.

Senator JENNER. The same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Senator, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. HINTON. The first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator JENNER. Same record.

Mr. MORRIS. The first individual who appears in the right foreground is Mr. John Powell, is it not?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator JENNER. Has it been shown that the witness knows Mr. John Powell?

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Mr. John Powell?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER (now presiding). Mr. Hinton, you have given your reasons for not answering that question. The Chair orders and directs you to answer that question since neither of the objections is recognized by this committee.

So I am ordering and directing you to answer the question propounded to you by counsel.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. HINTON. With regard to the question on Mr. Powell.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Powell has appeared as a witness before the committee. I personally was not present, but inasmuch as Mr. McManus has been sworn here today, was present when Mr. Powell testified, I wonder if we might ask him at this point to identify the individual who appears in the right foreground of the picture as Mr. John Powell.

Senator WELKER. Very well. It is so ordered.

Mr. McManus, if you can do that, proceed and identify him.

Mr. McMANUS. That is a picture of Mr. John Powell, whom I have seen as a witness before this committee.

Mr. MORRIS. The woman on his left, that is looking at it from this point of view, Mr. Hinton, is that his wife, Sylvia Powell?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

(Witness looked at photograph.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. McManus was present when Sylvia Powell appeared before the subcommittee and I think is competent to testify to that here today.

Senator WELKER. Very well. First I am going to overrule the objections made by the witness and order and direct him to answer the question.

Mr. McMANUS. That is a picture——

Senator WELKER. Just a moment.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I stand on the same answer.

Senator WELKER. On the fifth amendment, not the first and the fourth?

Mr. HINTON. And the fifth.

Senator WELKER. Well, I have told you what the committee recognizes. Now we are going to the fifth, so your objection will be recognized by the committee.

Now.

Mr. McMANUS. That is a picture of Mrs. John W. Powell, who testified before the subcommittee in San Francisco. I have seen her on two occasions.

Mr. MORRIS. Is the next gentleman, in other words, the person sitting on Sylvia Powell's right, is that Julian Shuman? Is that Julian Shuman?

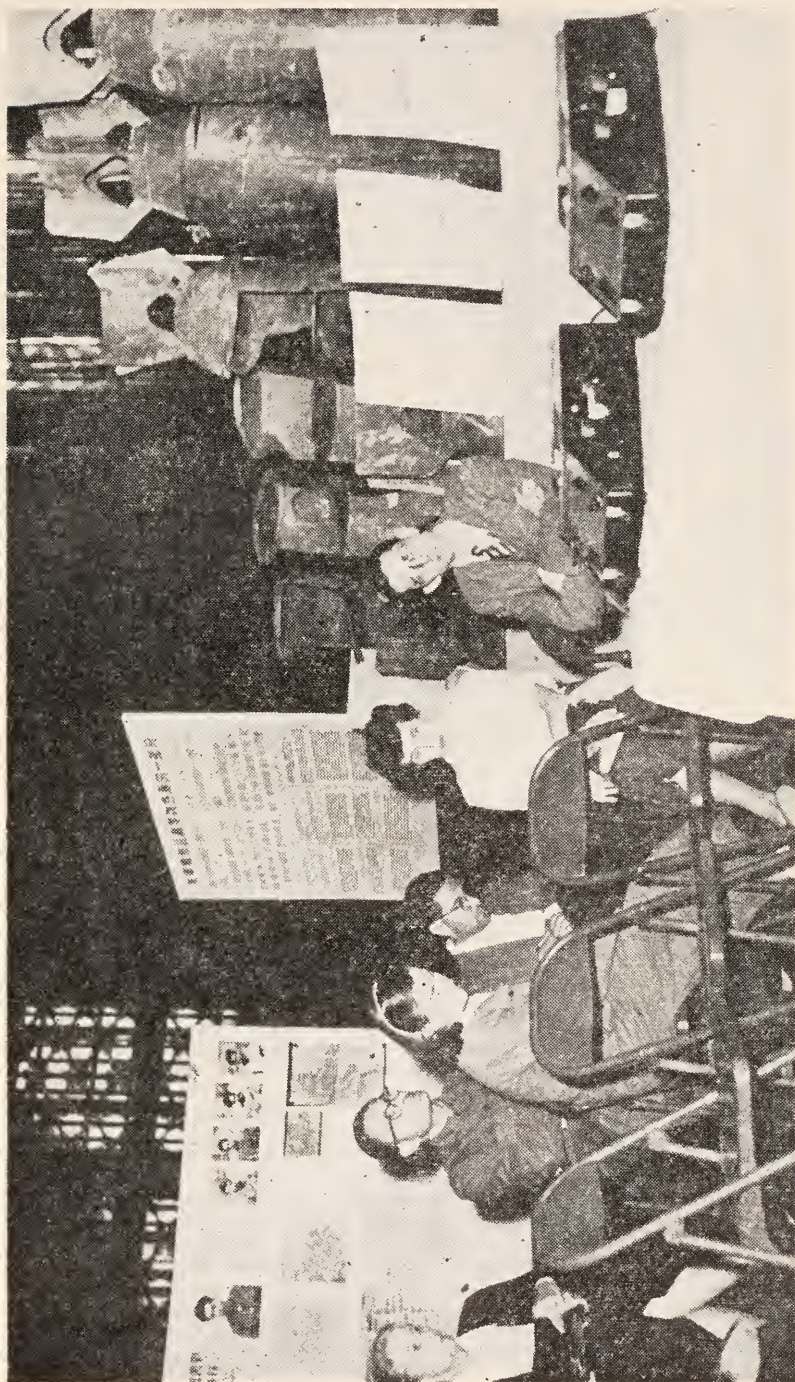
Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Is the next individual that appears in the picture, in other words, at Mr. Shuman's right, your sister, Joan Chase Hinton Engst?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first, fourth, and the fifth amendments.

(The photograph which was the subject of the above testimony was later ordered into the record as exhibit No. 24 and appears on the opposite page.)

EXHIBIT No. 24



Mr. MORRIS. We have here an article by Joan Hinton which appears in People's China, January 1, 1953, issue, in which it describes—in which she describes her listening to the alleged forced confessions—alleged confessions of American fliers, who were allegedly saying that they engaged in bacteriological warfare against the armies of the Chinese People's Republic and Korean People's Republic.

May that go into the record at this time?

Senator WELKER. Do you want to read it?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read parts of it, Mr. McManus, that would indicate the general purport of the article?

Mr. McMANUS. This is an article by Joan Hinton from People's China, January 1, 1953, issue, entitled "What Is Your Decision?"

At the top of the article there appears what purports to be a photograph of Joan Hinton.

It was in Peking's "Forbidden City" that we heard them: Enoch, Quinn, O'Neal, Kniss—four voices, so different, yet so much alike.

"My name is Kenneth L. Enoch, first lieutenant in the United States Air Force * * *" came the first, a voice so certainly American.

"* * * I had 30 ordinary missions and 2 germ-bombing missions * * *."

Clearly, distinctly, the words filled the room. One by one, they sank echolessly into the huge beams above us, as though their bitter truth were being trapped forever in the depth of this ancient hall. They told of the bacteriological warfare lectures, of the assignments, the secrecy, and then—

"* * * In the Sariwon area, we let down to 500 feet and at 200 miles per hour airspeed, we dropped the 2 germ bombs * * *."

Senator WELKER. I think that is sufficient, Counselor. It will be incorporated fully in the record.

(The article was marked "Exhibit No. 25" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 25

WHAT IS YOUR DECISION?

Joan Hinton¹

It was in Peking's "Forbidden City" that we heard them: Enoch, Quinn, O'Neal, Kniss—four voices, so different, yet so much alike.

"My name is Kenneth L. Enoch, first lieutenant in the United States Air Force * * *" came the first, a voice so certainly American.

"* * * I had 30 ordinary missions and 2 germ-bombing missions * * *."

Clearly, distinctly, the words filled the room. One by one, they sank echolessly into the huge beams above us, as though their bitter truth were being trapped forever in the depth of this ancient hall. They told of the bacteriological warfare lectures, of the assignments, the secrecy, and then—

"* * * In the Sariwon area, we let down to 500 feet and at 200 miles per hour airspeed, we dropped the 2 germ bombs * * *."

So simple.

Nothing's barred in war, it's all the same—but is it? In spite of themselves, the boys began to think.

With the steadied anger of one who at last realizes he's been deceived, Quinn's high, thin voice poured from the moving reel—

"Because I am a soldier I must follow orders * * * I could not refuse to do this crime. But on the other hand I was the person who did this inhuman crime against the people, by carrying germ bombs and dropping them where innocent women and children would be the most likely victims."

¹ Joan Hinton, a nuclear physicist formerly working at the Los Alamos atomic plant in New Mexico, was one of the United States delegates to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. She wrote these reflections while listening to the testimonies of United States germ-war airmen. "The eyes of the world are focused on you," she tells United States physicists, and asks, "What is your decision?" (Editor's note, printed with article.)

We sat there in silence, listening, wondering. Yes, we, too, were Americans, ordinary Americans like these boys; and deep in our hearts we all knew, if we had been in their position, trained as they were, we, too, would have done the same.

As I listened, memories of Los Alamos—the people, the mountains, the laboratories tucked away in canyons—crowded before me.

Why had we been there?

What had we felt? Guilty?—No.

Like the boys when they dropped the bombs, though we were uneasy, we never thought to blame ourselves personally for our share in the destruction of human lives. To them "orders were orders," to us—we were "pure" scientists, seeking the truth, and "the truth has no morals."

But why this "truth"? Why atomic bombs?

Because Nazi Germany was working on it too—defense.

But if they could be made—were they to be used? This was never stated. And as O'Neal said of himself, so it was with most of us—"I tried as much as I could not to think about it"—we were pure in our "pure" science, working on an academic question—so we thought. The use of our discoveries—that was up to the Government.

We sat in our laboratories, recording the ticks of Geiger counters, arguing over scattering cross sections, lost in a world of atomics. And on Sundays there were the mountains, the fresh rabbit tracks across shimmering fields of white, and the ringing echo of laughing voices in a pile of skis and snow.

Casual talk of the hydrogen bomb.

This was our life—reality to us. Suffering? People dying?—impossible—our calculations were so harmless and our world so beautiful.

That is, until Harry died.

As the voices of the pilots talked on—of typhus, cholera, smallpox, plague—of lectures on atom bombs—one began to wonder. They were briefed on germ warfare, then ordered to drop germ bombs, they were briefed on atomic warfare—and then?

Again I thought of Harry.

The way he rubbed his swollen hand on the way up the car.

The way he reached in his pocket to hand over his coins.

And that strange intangible feeling, when those nickels were so "hot" that the Geiger counter jammed—when I suddenly realized "Harry's got it bad."

It took him a month to die—his body slowly rotting away. Bit by bit his hair fell out, his teeth loosened, his body swelled into one big blister. Then—peritonitis, insanity, death. And we sat there and watched, and there was nothing we could do.

But Harry was only one. What about Japan? Our pure science, our pre-occupation with our own tiny world, had suddenly come to this—to Harry multiplied 150,000 times.

And now, 7 years later, bacteriological warfare against the Koreans and Chinese, and again pilots are being briefed anew for atomic warfare. But the scientists still work on. Thinking politics beneath them, they have found themselves gradually caught in an ever tightening noose, until now they are forced to sell their souls if they wish to continue in research. For those with a conscience, for those who speak out, it is beginning to mean their bread.

Yet the majority, like the majority of Americans, are wrapped in a cloak of ignorance. They are told they are working for defense, and they tend to believe it.

But what has defense to do with Korea? Who are the Koreans? What menace are they to Americans? Why should we be trying to exterminate them as a people—strafing them, bombing them, burning them with napalm? Secretly, in mad desperation, spread their land with virulent bacteria—a last bitter attempt to wipe them out with plague, cholera, encephalitis?

We? Yes, we, the American people, have let this happen, through our indifference, through our lack of political awareness, through our irresponsibility in allowing such men to gain control.

And again the voice of O'Neal called out from the moving reel. "The United States Government knows these facts * * *. But the people don't know, because the Government doesn't want them to know * * *. When I think of my future, when I think of some day * * * when my son asked me what I did in Korea, how can I tell him that I came over here and dropped germ bombs on people * * *? How can I go back and face my family in a civilized world?"

* * * But when the full realization of what I had done came to me, the suffering and misery that I've caused, it was enough to split my very soul asunder * * *."

And later—

"Have you thought * * * that the very fact of having made this testimony about bacteriological warfare may, could lead to some reprisals against your family in the United States * * * I don't know * * * whether when you yourself return, the military or the authorities might take some action against you." came the voice of Dr. Olivo Oliviero, member of the International Scientific Commission, then questioning Kniss.

"Yes, I did," he answered. "I gave that considerable thought * * *. If they in any form take reprisals on my wife * * * my parents, any member of our family, they will only be admitting their guilt to this method of warfare. I have enough faith in the American people * * * the average American, that they will not allow anything to happen to my wife. As for myself, they may try some sort of reprisal. Again, the American people on policy will stand behind me 100 percent. If they don't, I mean, there are some things a man has got to stand up and fight, I mean, it'll never be conquered laying down or merely accepting it very meekly."

The reel was finished. For a minute, we sat there in the great silent hall, thinking. Four men had stood up. Four men had dared to tell the truth.

There will be screams of "Fakes"—but no one who heard these voices will be fooled. Only Americans can speak "American." And that tinge of southern drawl in O'Neal's "ma-own family" is more genuine than a thousand documents could ever be. No—these boys are real. Germ warfare is real. And it's time we Americans understood what is being done in our name.

Sitting there, I could not help but think again of you physicists, wherever you may be, at Los Alamos, at Hanford, at Tennessee, at Chicago, you who are still working on atomic bombs—do you ever wonder what it is you are doing with your lives? How much longer can you stand to sell your dignity as human beings, to mutilate science under the cloak of defense? Who is it you are working to annihilate? In Pyongyang, Korea, there was an old man by the name of Han Sang Kuk—but he's dead now. He and his two small grandchildren—dead of cholera. Their crime?—playing with strange flies found in their yard after the circling of United States planes.

These are the people you are aiming to kill. These babies, these old people, what threat are they to you?

Today, when the eyes of the world are focused on you, there is this you must understand: It's not through fear that they condemn you; the people know their strength; they have no doubt as to who would win if the United States were to start another world war.

No, it is in the name of peace, of life, of the dignity of science and man that they condemn you, that they ask—What is your decision?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in fairness to the fact that these are purported to be the statements, the forced statements of the American fliers, I think we have obtained the subsequent repudiation on the part of the four Americans involved, and I think that they should go into the record at this time.

Senator WELKER. Where did you get these statements?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you identify these statements, please?

Mr. McMANUS. These statements were taken from a release of the United States delegation to the Geneva Assembly, dated October 26, 1953. The first paragraph of the release says:

Text of sworn statements by 10 United States fliers, concerning germ-warfare confessions.

And the paragraph says:

Following are texts of 10 sworn statements made since their return to freedom by 10 United States fliers. All of these officers, during their captivity in Korea, were subjected to duress by their captors with a view to extracting "confessions."

And the word "confessions" is in quotes.

Senator WELKER. Very well. They will be admitted as part of the record at this point.

(The document is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 25-A

UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Press release No. 1786 (pt. II of three parts), October 26, 1953

TEXTS OF SWORN STATEMENTS BY 10 UNITED STATES FLIERS CONCERNING
"GERM WARFARE CONFESSIONS"

Following are the texts of 10 sworn statements, made since their return to freedom by 10 United States fliers. All these officers, during their captivity in Korea, were subjected to duress by their captors with a view to extracting "confessions" about alleged use of germ warfare. In 8 of these 10 cases the Communists succeeded in obtaining confessions; in the other 2 cases the Communists failed.

B. Statements 3 through 6, by Air Force 1st Lts. John S. Quinn, Paul R. Kniss, Floyd B. O'Neal, and Kenneth Enoch. All these officers signed confessions under duress. These confessions were exploited in a widely distributed Communist propaganda film, and were submitted officially to the United Nations by the delegate of the U. S. S. R. on October 1, 1952.

SWORN STATEMENT OF LT. JOHN S. QUINN

I am aware of my rights under article 31, United States Unified Code of Military Justice, and wish to make the following voluntary statement concerning my experiences as a prisoner of war of the North Korean and Chinese Communist governments in North Korea.

I did not, in the true sense of the word, ever "confess" to anything related to germ warfare. How could I, when I don't know, or never did know, anything about how such a thing can be done? It would be true to say, and thank God I'm back again where I can speak truly, that I was coerced by diabolical mental torture, which it would take a poet like Poe to justly describe, into writing Communist propaganda. My wife was pregnant and I had real cause to fear for her life if she didn't hear I was alive. The threat of death was really the least fearful thing that hung over me. I was physically weak from malnutrition and loss of sleep. Three interrogators were assigned to me, as they said themselves, for the sole purpose of "getting my confession." The safety of my wife and children, one yet unborn, were threatened, and that, in my mental condition, assumed gigantic proportions.

Much of what the Communists call my confession was dictated to me. Much I added myself, much which seemed to me fantastic beyond belief, in the hope that it would get out and make this "germ warfare"—"hate America" campaign of theirs obviously ridiculous to any thinking person. For instance dropping bombs from a loaded B-26 at 110 miles per hour—a loaded B-26 cannot fly at that speed. I could give many more such examples. I do not know how much of this confession was put out for public consumption.

In my 20 months with the Chinese soldiers and political fanatics, I can remember no period during which I was treated in accordance with the Geneva protocol for treatment of POW's. For an extended period, shortly after capture, I was thrown with a Lieutenant Maultsby into an icy cave in inadequate clothing. After 2 days there, I was sure their idea was to kill us by degrees. Our feet began to freeze. I couldn't grab my own zipper tight enough, because of the cold, to work it. The water was so filthy we feared to drink it and did not during the entire period of almost 2 weeks. Our food was a little rice and seaweed twice a day, served in a filthy, rusty tin can. We could not stand up in the cave as the ceiling was too low. We couldn't sleep for the cold and made up little forms of exercise which we could take continuously to keep warm. I did not see then how a person could go through this treatment alone, and what Chuck Maultsby and I have shared together has made us lifelong friends.

Later I was put alone and kept that way for over 8 months, living with an interrogator, the only man I have ever learned to hate, and I hate him with a passion that borders on insanity. He constantly harangued me with stock ques-

tions on what I was thinking, what were my feelings, what was communism, and so forth, and so forth. I can't write sensibly about what they do to a person when he can't fight back, because my emotions are too wrapped up in it. I can't forget it. I don't wish to forget it. I want always to remember it, and remember it, and remember it. I hope others who might have been confused by the things I was forced to write, say, and do may get some vague feeling for what I—and others—have been through.

All news of the outside world was kept from me for the entire 20 months. Never did I get to read, nor did I ever form an accurate picture of what the germ-warfare propaganda campaign consisted of, other than my part in it, nor of its effects. We were given only the periodicals from the Communist countries and sometimes the Daily Worker or People's World, several months old.

It appears now that I have been a pretty big part of a scheme to put blinders on all men, to channel their thinking, and bring the best in human emotions and hopes in to support these channeled thoughts. The result is living dead men, controlled human robots, which willingly, as long as they are under the spell, do their master's bidding. Now, because I am able again to speak freely, because I feel I owe it to those whom my statements may have confused, and because I feel my experiences have made me particularly qualified, I would like to help take off these blinders, to shatter the walls of these channels, to let in some fresh air and sunshine, and help them relearn the exaltation of personal freedoms once again.

(Signed) JOHN S. QUINN, 17993A,
First Lieutenant, USAF.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23d day of September 1953 at Parks Air Force Base, Calif.

(Signed) CLIFFORD A. SHELDON,
Colonel, USAF,
Staff Judge Advocate.

SWORN STATEMENT OF LT. PAUL R. KNISS

I am aware of my rights under article 31, United States Unified Code of Military Justice, and wish to make the following voluntary statement concerning my experience as a prisoner of war of the North Korean and Chinese Communist Governments in North Korea.

As a result of threats, torture, starvation, brutality, and barbaric treatment given me by my Communist captors, I was coerced into taking part in the hate-America campaign. As part of this campaign, the Communists tried to bring discredit upon the United States fighting forces in Korea by alleging they were waging bacteriological warfare. Part of this so-called evidence used in this charge was a forced "confession" which I submitted after severe mental and physical torture, including repeated threats of death. I now deny the forced confession I made. At no time prior to my being captured was I lectured on bacteriological warfare or led to believe that the United States forces were using bacteriological warfare. I have never flown any bacteriological warfare missions, nor have I flown any missions that could conceivably be classed as bacteriological warfare missions.

Everything I was forced to "confess" to in the Communist hands was an out-and-out lie. These statements would have never been signed by me if I had not been subjected to severe mental and physical torture.

I made interviews, movies, and recordings of my "confession," doing so only under threat of death. The humane treatment I was supposed to receive was entirely absent. The treatment I received was of the Fascist order, with no attention paid to my request for treatment as specified under the Geneva Convention of 1929.

My so-called confession was partially dictated to me by my captors, and the rest I fabricated by myself. The contents of this "confession" are ridiculous, and the dates of missions flown, of lectures received, are all fictitious.

I was interrogated by the Communists for periods lasting up to 20 hours, during which time I was made to sit at attention flat on the floor, with no back-rest. I was denied medical attention for 48 hours at one time while I was suffering from diarrhea, and only received it from them as they thought I was dying.

I was threatened with death many times, and I was to be shot as an enemy agent, due to lack of identification, which the Communists had previously taken from me. The Communists violated every one of the Geneva regulations.

I have never heard from any source, other than the Communists, that the United States forces or the United Nations Command was waging bacteriological warfare in Korea.

Everything I was forced to say was done in the effort to smear the reputation of the United Nations in the eyes of the world. The charges of the Communists contained in the so-called confessions are fantastic, and any thinking person would recognize this immediately.

(Signed) PAUL R. KNISS, AO1909070,
1st Lieutenant, USAF.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 23d day of September 1953 at Parks Air Force Base, Calif.

(Signed) CLIFFORD A. SHELDON,
Colonel, USAF, Staff Judge Advocate.

SWORN STATEMENT OF LT. FLOYD B. O'NEAL

I am aware of my rights under article 31, United States Unified Code of Military Justice, and wish to make the following voluntary statement concerning my experiences as a prisoner of war of the North Korean and Chinese Communist governments in North Korea.

Due to coercion, taking the form of physical torture, very poor food, continuous threats of death, and other dastardly methods of breaking my willpower, the Chinese Communists did force me to sign a "confession" to bacteriological germ warfare. This so-called confession was signed only after the Chinese Communists had given me an ultimatum of 48 hours in which to "confess" to germ warfare or be tried and executed as a war criminal. This "confession" was utterly false and I wish now to deny the statements contained in the forced "confession."

At no time prior to being sent to Korea to fight was I lectured on bacteriological warfare or was I led to believe from any training or briefing I received that the United States of America Forces were waging bacteriological warfare in North Korea, China, or any other area. I have never flown any bacteriological warfare missions nor have I flown any missions that could conceivably be classed as bacteriological warfare missions. Everything I "confessed" to in prisoner-of-war camps was an out-and-out lie. I signed their statements only under extreme duress including both physical and mental pressure. I signed my "confession" after the above-mentioned ultimatum when I had had time to consider all factors. I was convinced that the Communists would eventually obtain a confession of sorts from me by either driving me out of my mind, by continuous mental pressure, or else by forcing me to physical exhaustion.

The Chinese Communists accused me of being a war criminal in that they accused me of flying germ warfare missions over North Korea. They accused me of dropping bacteriological warfare bombs and spraying bacteria-infested insects. These charges were made against me with absolutely no basis of fact. These charges were continually hurled in my face with threats that if I did not "confess" to these charges or admit having participated in germ warfare I would suffer the penalty of death for my "war crimes."

The Chinese Communists made motion pictures and radio broadcasts which have included the so-called confession signed by myself. These recordings and broadcasts were made under duress similar to that used to force me to sign the false "confession" on germ warfare. The statements made in these movies and recordings were false and have no basis of fact. The statements made in these movies and recordings were statements which the Communists themselves made up for me to repeat.

The Chinese Communists also used the false "confession" obtained from me on germ warfare in an attempt to convince other U. N. Command prisoners of war of the big lie which they were trying to foist upon the world. The Chinese Communists used my "confession" as part of their "Hate America" campaign.

The methods used by the Communist interrogators to secure my so-called confession were of two kinds: One, physical torture of sorts, such as long hours of standing at attention; poor food, contaminated water to drink, then denial of medical attention after I became ill from polluted water; and two, mental pressure, long hours of interrogation and wrangling and haranguing, attempting to break down my willpower, attempting in some manner to dull my mental facilities in order that they might more easily extract from me their desired statements. Threats were used in attempting to obtain my so-called confession.

These threats consisted of telling me that I would never return home if I did not sign the confession they wished me to sign. They continually stated that they would in the end get a confession from me in some manner. Then there was a constant and continuous threat of death as a result of war crime trials. I was kept in solitary confinement with absolutely no contacts. I was closely guarded and in all periods of time when I was being interrogated, I was under an armed guard which was very strict and allowed no deviation in the orders given by the Chinese interrogators. I was not treated humanely and in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention on treatment of prisoners of war. There were many direct violations of the Geneva Convention. When I at first brought up my rights under the Geneva Convention, the Chinese Communists threw these rights back into my teeth and told me they had their own policy of dealing with prisoners of war. They explained that they had a different policy for each prisoner. They called this their lenient policy. I was denied healthful food, I was deprived of medical attention, the Communists used extreme forms of intimidations; my physical comfort and mental well-being were far from adequately cared for. The mental well-being especially seemed to be a point of attack for them in that they seemed to be trying to constantly create in my mind a doubt as to the reliability of the true statements which I had made. When I saw that somehow they would obtain a confession by driving me out of my mind or to physical collapse, I signed the statements the Chinese Communists wanted. Again, these statements were utterly and completely false and have no basis of fact whatsoever.

I was forced to appear before the so-called International Scientific Commission and make statements to them on germ warfare. I was threatened beforehand with physical violence and other threats used in attaining my so-called confession if I did not appear before this International Scientific Commission, give them the statements there that the Chinese Communists wanted me to give them. The statements which I made before this International Scientific Commission were hardboiled lies. I had attempted to insert as many ridiculous and false facts as possible in the statements which I signed for my confession. I repeated these ridiculous and false statements before the International Scientific Commission again because of duress. I have never participated in any type of bombing raids which could conceivably be classed as germ raids or bacteriological raids.

I have never heard from any source other than my Communist interrogators that the U. N. Command had participated in bacteriological warfare raids over North Korea, China, or any other area for that matter. The broaching of the subject of bacteriological warfare to me by the Communists was a complete surprise. I denied any knowledge of germ warfare and denied any participation in germ warfare by the U. N. Command. However, under physical and mental duress I finally signed false confessions to germ warfare which were made up for me by the Chinese Communists.

(Signed) FLOYD B. O'NEAL, AO1848575,
1st Lieutenant, USAF.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23d day of September 1953, at Parks Air Force Base, Calif.

(Signed) CLIFFORD A. SHELDON,
Colonel, USAF,
Staff Judge Advocate.

SWORN STATEMENT OF LT. KENNETH ENOCH

I am aware of my rights under article 31, United States Unified Code of Military Justice, and wish to make the following voluntary statement concerning my experiences as a prisoner of war of the North Korean and Chinese Communist Governments in North Korea.

I wish to state firmly that these charges are wholly without grounds and the so-called confessions were obtained under extreme duress. I did not personally engage in bacteriological warfare, nor do I know of anyone else who has engaged in bacteriological warfare.

Before each movie, each wire recording, each interview with so-called investigators of this alleged crime, my so-called testimony was used as a pressure in order to force me to comply with their demands.

Everything I stated relative to offensive bacteriological warfare while in prisoner-of-war camp was an out-and-out lie. I would certainly never have signed their statements had I not been forced to do so under threat of prolonged torture, which so far as I knew meant only to death.

My statement was used in order to compel me to write acceptable articles—articles which they could use in their smear-America campaign. I wrote one little note to the Vienna Peoples' Conference for Peace in October 1952. Also, I was told to write articles for the prison-camp newspaper, and I wrote two of those.

At the time I was captured I believed that I would be treated humanely under the stipulations of the Geneva Conference but I soon found out that the Chinese Communists had an utter disregard for human values and human rights. As I knew, many POW's had died due to Communist maltreatment, and I realized that they would stop at nothing to achieve their goals. However, I resisted their attempts for some time but I was finally brought around to the realization that my only alternative was to submit to their pressure, but in as limited a manner as possible.

We were treated good under some of the provisions of the Geneva Conference, but they had an out-and-out disregard of others, and of course many of these were flagrant violations. I was kept in solitary confinement for 13 months. I was kept in 2 camps where they had no POW sign to protect us from air attacks. The diet during the winter was of very low nutritional value and caused much sickness. I had almost constant diarrhea during my period of captivity. I had it about 20 times, for 5 or 6 days at a time. This made me very weak and nervous.

I did not participate in any type of bombing raids which would even remotely be classed as germ raids or bacteriological warfare raids.

I have not heard from any other source, other than the Chinese Communists, that the United Nations Command had employed weapons of bacteriological warfare.

(Signed) KENNETH ENOCH, AO2069988,
First Lieutenant, USAF.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23d day of September 1953, at Parks Air Force Base, Calif.

(Signed) CLIFFORD A. SHELDON,
Colonel, USAF,
Staff Judge Advocate.

Mr. MORRIS. I think that for the purposes of the record one of them is a short one and should be read at this time to show the general nature of what these are.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. McMANUS. This is the sworn statement of Lt. John S. Quinn.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he one of the people who was mentioned in the Joan Hinton article?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes, she mentions Quinn, Kniss, O'Neal, and Kenneth Enoch, all of whom have repudiated their confessions.

(Whereupon Mr. McManus read in full the statement of Lieutenant Quinn as printed above.)

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, was Lieutenant Quinn's alleged confession tape-recorded and played at the APPC Conference in Peiping in October 1952?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. Counsel, will you tell, for the purpose of the record, where is Peiping?

Mr. MORRIS. Peiping is the capital of Soviet China, is it not?

Senator WELKER. Very well. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you look at the top picture on the bulletin board on the right, Mr. Hinton. That is the top glossy one between the two large originals.

Senator WELKER. Have someone point it out to him.

(Mr. Arens pointed it out.)

Senator WELKER. Mr. Witness, would you mind looking at the picture there?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

(Witness looks at picture.)

Senator WELKER. That is not going to hurt you to look at the picture, is it?

Mr. MORRIS. Have you looked at the picture?

Senator WELKER. Have you seen them?

Mr. HINTON. I have seen them.

Mr. MORRIS. That is a picture which was taken at the——

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I indicated by that answer, that I have just looked at the picture.

Senator WELKER. Since you have been here in the room?

Mr. HINTON. Since I have been here in the room. I had a chance before the hearing began to look at them.

Senator WELKER. I see.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that a picture that was taken at the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in Peiping in October 1952?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. And are not the individuals who appear in this picture sitting at a desk in which the flag of the United States with a little emblem "U. S. A." appears in front of that?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments, as previously stated.

(A reproduction of the photograph alluded to in the above testimony was later ordered into the record as exhibit No. 26 and appears on the opposite page.)

EXHIBIT No. 26



Mr. MORRIS. I will ask you to look at the second glossy on the left-hand board, Mr. Hinton. Mr. Arens is pointing it out to you now.

(Mr. Arens pointed to photograph.)

(Witness looked at photograph.)

Mr. MORRIS. Is that a picture that you brought into the United States in your footlocker?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator WELKER. Let the record show the consultation.

Mr. HINTON. I doubt very much that I ever saw these pictures before. They don't look familiar to me.

Mr. MORRIS. The question is, did you bring them into the United States in your footlocker?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. That is what I mean to answer by that answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you testify that the three pictures we have shown the witness at this time were, in fact, taken from his footlocker?

Mr. McMANUS. They were taken from the footlocker under my personal supervision, and I saw them. I saw them when they were taken out of the locker.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, will you look at the glossy on the right-hand bulletin board, the lower of the two glossy prints?

(Witness looked at glossy print.)

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify that as a picture that you brought into the United States?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. No, I don't.

Mr. MORRIS. You what? I didn't hear your answer.

Mr. HINTON. My answer is "No." What was your question? Repeat the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that a picture that you brought into the United States in your footlocker?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I doubt it very strongly, whether that is anything that I brought in, in my footlocker.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that a picture that you took from the footlocker of Mr. Hinton, Mr. McManus?

Mr. McMANUS. I can identify that as a picture that was in Mr. Hinton's footlocker, and other people have seen this picture taken from that footlocker, working under my supervision.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. If he says so, I am not going to contradict him. I decline to answer about it.

Senator WELKER. Do you want to tell us where you got the pictures?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Now, the record will again show we recognize the fifth amendment but not the first and the fourth.

(The photograph alluded to in the testimony above was ordered into the record as exhibit No. 26-A and appears on the opposite page, and identified further on p. 232.)

EXHIBIT No. 26-A



Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, I would like to show you two more pictures.

Mr. McManus, will you testify that these are pictures taken from the footlocker of the witness here today? Look at them and identify them.

Mr. McMANUS. Yes, one of these is a picture—yes, I identify both of these as having been taken from Mr. Hinton's footlocker.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you show them to the witness?

(Photographs were given to Mr. Arens to show to the witness, and were shown to him.)

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. MORRIS. Did you bring those two photographs in?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

MR. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Same ruling by the Chair.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Hinton—may I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Senator JENNER. Is that your footlocker there to the right of the table?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, will you pay attention, please, to the question propounded to you by the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. HINTON. Put the question again, please.

Senator JENNER. Is that your footlocker there to the right of the table?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator JENNER. You certainly know whether that is your footlocker without conferring with your attorney. How would your attorney know whether it is your locker or not?

Is that your footlocker? Give me a simple answer.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The consultation is not to find out whether it is or not but whether he would waive his fifth amendment right by answering, and I would like to consult with him.

Senator JENNER. That is different, I see.

Senator WELKER. I do not want to get into this argument, but the first discourse we had was a demand by your client to have these, the footlocker and all its contents, released back to him upon the grounds and for the reason that he thought they were illegally seized by the customs.

So now let us not hedge around on the matter. Now answer the Senator's question.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. It looks like it could be the footlocker which I had.

Senator JENNER. Suppose you examine it; suppose you do.

Mr. HINTON. I would like it back right now.

Senator JENNER. Well, if you mean it looks like the one you had, why don't you examine it and tell us whether or not that is your footlocker?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator JENNER. You want it back. Do you want somebody else's property? You are not a thief, are you?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. It would take me a good many days to examine the contents.

Senator JENNER. I am not asking you about the contents—you are supposed to be an intelligent man—you worked for the OWI—you go around making 300 lectures. I am asking you a simple question, that an idiot could answer. Is that your footlocker?

Mr. HINTON. I can hear you here—

Senator JENNER. I cannot hardly understand you, I will tell you that much.

Mr. HINTON (continuing). Without shouting.

Senator JENNER. Will you answer my question?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator JENNER. Get up and examine it, feel of it, smell it.

(Witness looked at the footlocker.)

Mr. MORRIS. I might point out that the witness has been demanding that it be returned to him.

Senator JENNER. He ought to know whether it is or not. I want him to examine it.

(Witness looked at the footlocker again.)

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. This is the first time I have had a chance to look at what has been purported to have been taken from me for at least 3 years.

Senator JENNER. I am not asking what is purported to have been taken from you.

Mr. HINTON. The record of this and similar committees, and photographs and various things has been before us, in the last few years. I think I should have a chance to look this thing over.

Senator JENNER. Just a moment. You get up and you look it over. I want to know whether or not that is your footlocker, Mr. Billy Hinton.

(Witness looked at footlocker again.)

Mr. HINTON. I can't tell whether it is or not.

Senator JENNER. Why do you demand it back? You want somebody else's property.

Mr. HINTON. I want——

Senator JENNER. How could you identify that in court or anywhere else? How could you demand that back if you do not even know whether it is your property or not?

Mr. HINTON. I want a chance to——

Senator JENNER. You have got the chance—get up right now—stand aside and let the gentleman examine it and see whether or not that is his footlocker. Go ahead, Billy.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I'd like to object to the form of address you have been using.

Senator JENNER. The form of what?

Mr. HINTON. Of address of me that you have been using.

Senator JENNER. Don't you like "Mr. Hinton"? What do you want me to call you "Comrade" or something?

Mr. HINTON. I prefer to be called "Mr. Hinton," yes.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Hinton, will you please examine the footlocker to the right of the table and tell this committee whether or not it is your footlocker.

(Witness looks at the footlocker.)

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

(Witness stood up and looked at the footlocker and grasped it with both hands.)

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

(Witness again examined the footlocker.)

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Jenner, while the witness is examining the footlocker, I would like the record to show that yesterday afternoon we made this footlocker and all of the material therein available to this witness, for his own scrutiny and examination, so that if he were asked questions about it this morning, he would be completely conversant with it.

I think Mr. Friedman will bear me out. Even though we had a room available with the footlocker and the material available to Mr. Hinton, he did not avail himself of that opportunity.

Senator WELKER. Very well. There is a question before the committee now. You have examined the footlocker.

Mr. HINTON. I would like to dispute what Judge Morris said. The whole thing was not available to me to look at yesterday. A small envelope of things were brought out yesterday for me to look at. Ever since this, whatever property that was illegally taken from the customs was taken, I have not had a chance to see it, because I refused to look at property that was illegally taken from me until it was given back to me.

Senator WELKER. Oh, now, that is a smart answer. You have had a chance to look at it now, and you still do not want to look at it, is that right?

Senator JENNER. He has looked.

Mr. HINTON. I just looked at it.

Senator WELKER. All right, answer the Senator's question as to whether or not that is your footlocker and please, Mr. Hinton, quit delaying matters.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Why, I can't be sure on the locker because this locker here does not seem to be in quite as bad shape as the locker which I brought back. It certainly is a very similar locker.

Senator WELKER. You want still to have a similar locker returned to you, is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. No; I want my own.

Senator WELKER. Well, would you say that is your own or wouldn't you?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Of course, what we have been talking about all along is the contents of the locker, and the actual box is a small matter.

Senator WELKER. If I might offer an observation, perhaps, since you have been here you have seen the contents and, therefore, you are not quite so sure that you want the locker back. That probably is not fair to you, Mr. Hinton, and I withdraw that statement.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, is it your reply to the last question with respect to the last two photographs that I showed you that you will not tell us, and invoke your privilege under the fifth amendment, whether or not those two photographs were brought into the country by you in your footlocker?

Mr. HINTON. Your statement is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Mr. McManus, have you any way of identifying those two photographs as photographs taken of the Asiatic Pacific or Asian Pacific Peace Conference in Peiping in October 1952?

Mr. McMANUS. I have a publication entitled "Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Region in Pictures," which I purchased at the Workers Bookshop in New York City on December 7, 1955. The pictures which I found in Mr. Hinton's footlocker, the last two pictures which have been handed to him, are reproduced in this document, along with other pictures, which I also found in the footlocker which he says was his property.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, do the two pictures that appeared in the footlocker of Mr. Hinton, do they appear in this other volume?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Are they identified in that volume?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes; one of them is the cover picture.

Mr. MORRIS. What does it say?

Mr. McMANUS. Well, it says in several languages, "Long live peace."

Mr. MORRIS. Yes: is there anything to indicate that the cover picture was a picture taken at the Asian Pacific Peace Conference?

Mr. McMANUS. You mean on this document or on this one?

Mr. MORRIS. On the book, the Worker's Bookshop book.

Mr. McMANUS. Yes; I just read the title of the book into the record.

Mr. MORRIS. The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions in Pictures?

Mr. McMANUS. Right.

Senator WELKER. Well now, Counsel, in fairness to Mr. Hinton, I believe the picture should go in for whatever value it might have, but as acting chairman of the committee, I don't think it is fair to ask Mr. Hinton or to put some publication in the record which is purely hearsay, in my opinion.

Mr. MORRIS. It is not precisely hearsay. It is what it purports to be.

Senator WELKER. Of course, it purports to be what somebody else says about it. I am not going to allow the publication to go in, but I think the picture should go in.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you want the pictures that appear in the publication to go in the record—do you not?

Senator WELKER. I think they should, but I do not want any writer's opinion as to what they are.

Mr. MORRIS. And the description of the booklet itself, Peace Conferences of the Asian and Pacific Regions in Pictures. May our record contain the fact that this book, purchased where it was, does contain these particular pictures, were taken of that particular peace conference and let it speak for itself to that extent?

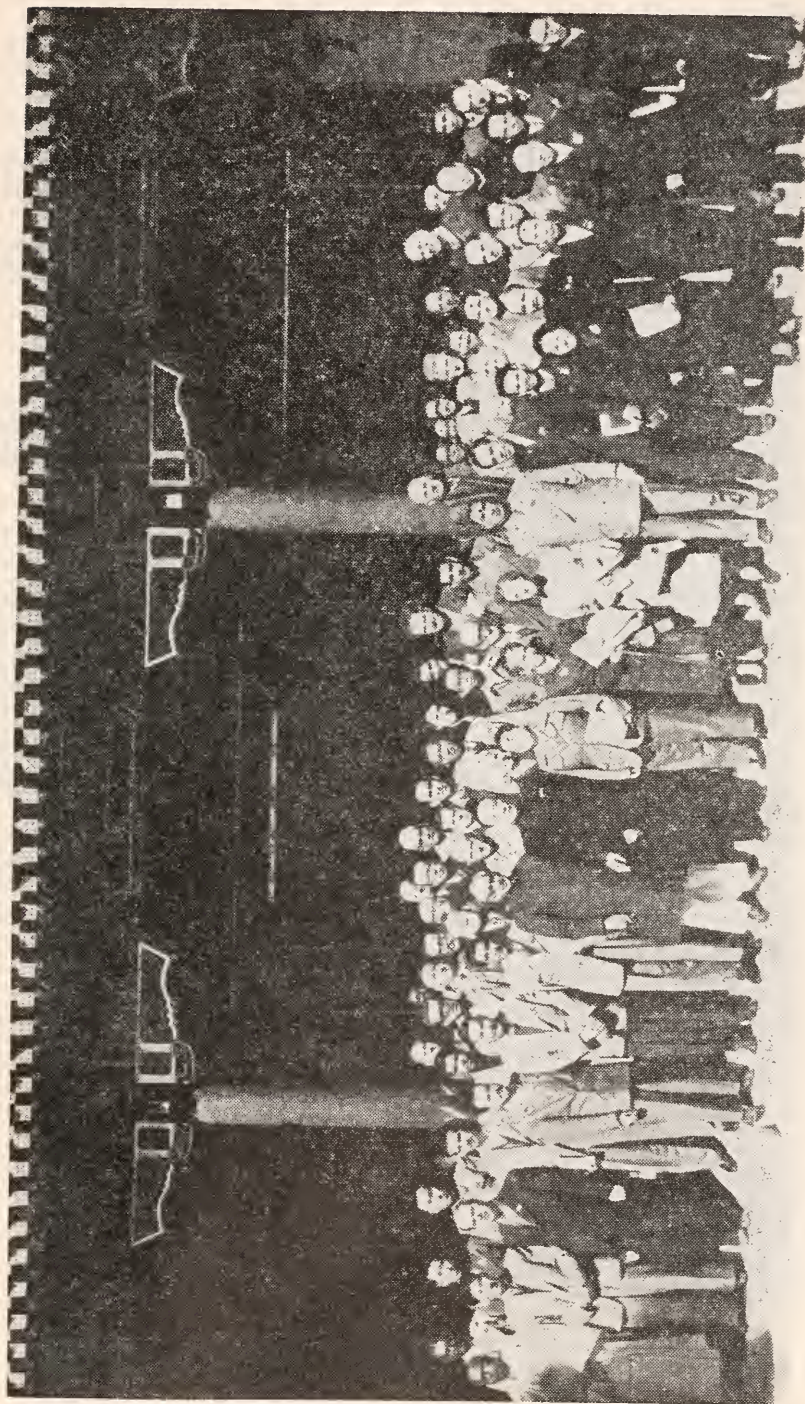
Senator WELKER. All right. That is right.

(The pictures alluded to in the above testimony were later ordered into the record as exhibit 27 and 27A and appear on the following pages.)

EXHIBIT No. 27



EXHIBIT No. 27-A



Where was this purchased?

Mr. McMANUS. At the Workers Bookshop in New York City.

Senator WELKER. Do you have any information as to what that is, the Workers Bookshop?

Mr. McMANUS. I think probably Mr. Mandel would be able to answer that.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Mandel, will you describe to the committee what the Workers Bookshop is? What information do you have on it?

Mr. MANDEL. The Workers Bookshop has been for many years the official Communist bookshop. It is located at the Communist Party headquarters on 50 East 13th Street.

Senator JENNER. Where?

Mr. MORRIS. New York City.

Mr. MANDEL. In New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would look at the other pictures which appear on the two bulletin boards behind you. Look at the one on the upper left on board No. 1. Was that a picture that you brought into the United States in your footlocker?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I want to complete my statement on this locker. The locker which I had, when you picked it up the bottom dropped out of it, and that is why they had it bound up with wooden slats. This box, when I picked it up seemed to hold quite well. So that is what creates a doubt in my mind about the identity of the box.

Senator JENNER. The question was not concerning a box. The question was concerning a picture pointed out to you on the bulletin board.

Mr. HINTON. In regard to the picture on the bulletin board I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you rule on his objection?

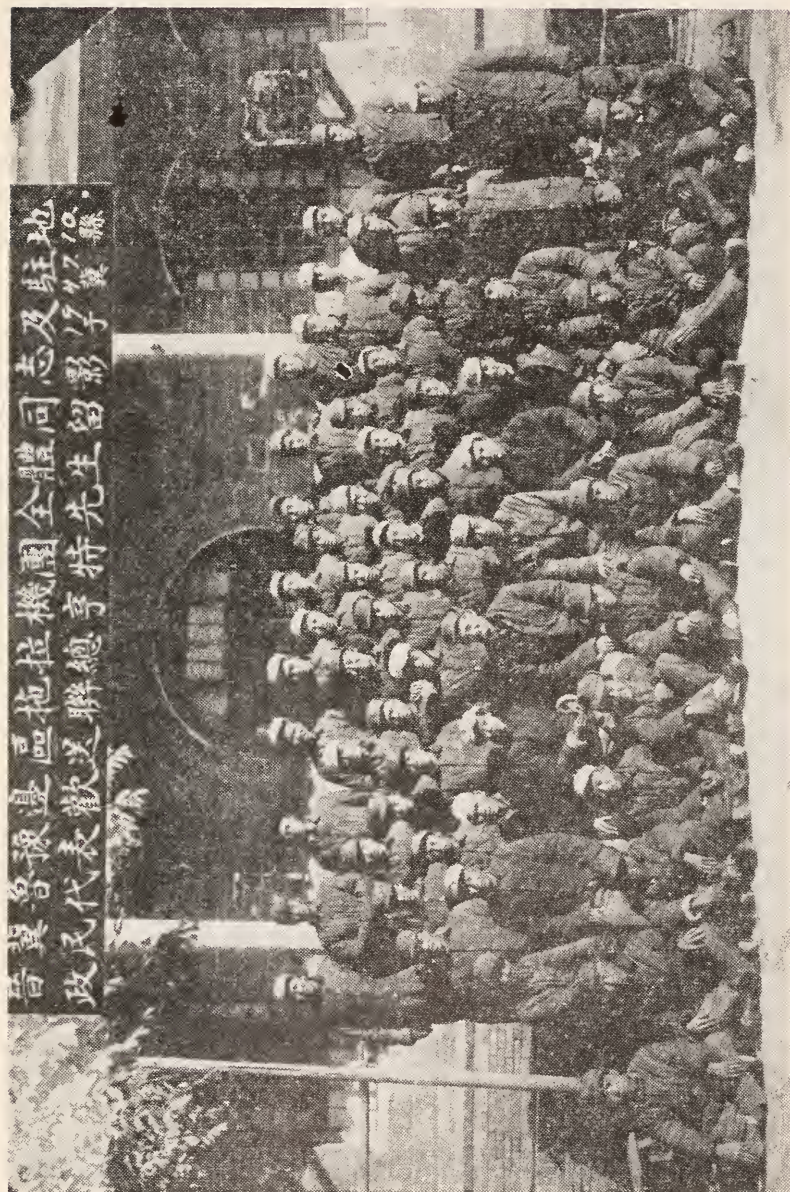
Senator WELKER. I will rule on the objection. We disallow the first and fourth. The committee recognizes the fifth amendment, but I am going at this point to order and direct the witness to answer that question.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. My answer is the same.

(The photograph referred to was marked Exhibit No. 28 and appears on the opposite page, and is further discussed on p. 227.)

EXHIBIT No. 28



Mr. MORRIS. Do you know the Chinese language, Mr. Hinton?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Well, I have a fairly good speaking knowledge of the language and can read some of it.

Mr. MORRIS. All right now, without conceding at all that you did bring this picture into the United States, will you look at the Chinese characters that appear in that picture designated by Mr. Arens, and make a translation for us?

(Witness looked at the picture.)

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to call your attention to the fact that there is a translation that appears over the picture, which has been prepared by the Library of Congress. Perhaps that might aid, Mr. Hinton, but if it isn't a fair translation by the Library of Congress, will you, based on your knowledge, tell us whether it is properly translated?

(Witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds—

Mr. MORRIS. You refuse to say whether that is a fair translation?

Mr. HINTON. On the grounds of the first and fourth and fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. The same order by the chairman. Why are you so worried about the translation, if you feel that perhaps you didn't bring these picture into this country in your footlocker?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the first, fourth, and fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder—will you read the Library of Congress translation that appears over the picture there? Just read it.

(The poster was marked "Exhibit 29" and appears on the opposite page. The lettering in English is a translation, by the Library of Congress, of the Oriental characters.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, fourth, and fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. You mean to tell the committee you will refuse to read the translation given to this committee by the Library of Congress. How on heaven's green earth could that incriminate you, sir?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, I am going to ask this now, not in the context of the preceding questions; in other words, if you will read this lettering, there is no connection between this particular question that is addressed to you and any of the preceding questions, and there are no implications whatever, no inferences to be drawn on our part.

Will you simply read the caption which is over that picture, and which represents a translation made by the Library of Congress, about that particular picture?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds, first, fourth, and fifth amendments.

EXHIBIT No. 29

THE PEOPLES OF ASIA AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN AREAS
SHOULD CONSOLIDATE, STRENGTHEN, AND EXPAND
THEIR PEACE PRESERVATION MOVEMENT.



團結起來保衛和平

LET US CONSOLIDATE IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD PEACE.

Senator WELKER. All right. The Chair will make the same ruling and I am ordering and directing you to do that, read that caption as it appears there over the picture.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Even though you know, Mr. Hinton, that you have been directed by the chairman of this committee to simply read a translation made by the Library of Congress, which purports to be a translation of the caption on a picture that is posed there on that bulletin board, you are still going to invoke your privilege under the fifth amendment?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the same grounds, first, fourth, and fifth amendment grounds.

Senator JENNER. I was not here at the beginning of this hearing, Mr. Hinton, but as I have been informed, you contend that this committee and the Government have deprived you of certain materials that you brought into this country and which are your lawful property, by illegal search and seizure; is that correct?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Yes; that is correct.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Hinton, how do you propose to establish title to these documents and pictures and so forth that the Government and this committee holds, which you contend is your lawful and legal property?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Well, I am hoping that the committee will abide by Counsel Morris' word that the things will be returned to me; and if not, I intend to have a lawsuit on it that will establish that.

Senator JENNER. Well, of course, nothing has been pointed out by you here this morning that belongs to you; so we have nothing to return that you have seen here this morning; is that correct?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that. In any lawsuit we will prove what is mine.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Hinton, if you cannot tell us what is yours—maybe if you could tell us what was yours, you would not have to establish a lawsuit; but you say you do not know anything about these pictures here this morning. Do you want something that does not belong to you?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. If what was taken from me is returned there won't be any problem.

Senator JENNER. Do you see anything in this hearing room, any picture, any piece of property, any pamphlet, any booklet—do you see anything in this hearing room that belongs to William Hinton, that we have?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and fifth amendments, as previously stated.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Hinton, of course, you know this committee does not recognize your right under the first and fourth amendments to refuse to answer, but suppose I say to you, you can have whatever is yours here—what would you take?

Mr. HINTON. There is a difference between this committee and a courtroom, after all.

Senator JENNER. Of course, there is. We are not a court. We are not here to judge you.

Mr. HINTON. Right; right.

Senator JENNER. We are only here to try to get information; but you have alleged that this committee has property of yours. I have asked you, do you see any property in this hearing room, in that footlocker, or any place on this desk that is your property, that should be returned to you?

Mr. HINTON. My answer is the same.

Senator JENNER. What is your answer?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator JENNER. Well, of course, you know the committee does not recognize your refusal to answer under the first and fourth amendments. Do you mean that a truthful answer to that then would incriminate you?

Mr. HINTON. My answer is the same as previously stated.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Hinton, do you want your cake and want to eat it, too? You say we have property of yours, and yet you won't identify any property that we have got of yours.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator JENNER. You are under oath, Mr. Hinton. I do not presume a court of law would ever permit you to take anything in this room because you say there is nothing here that belongs to you.

Mr. HINTON. You don't deny that you seized property from me or that you have property seized from me?

Senator JENNER. This committee did not seize anything from you. The customs officials of the United States Government probably did, but we didn't. We have not that authority.

Mr. HINTON. If you didn't seize it, how did you get hold of it?

Senator JENNER. We didn't seize it.

Senator WELKER. As you told us at the outset, the customs seized it and we will go into that quite fully when we find out how you got back to the United States.

Mr. HINTON. Senator Jenner admitted the last time that I was wronged by customs, as I remember it, in my testimony last time. You said if they had seized materials of mine and failed to return them, that this was a wrong.

Senator JENNER. Illegally, it would be wrong. If they seized them illegally, but how in the world is customs, if they did seize them illegally—how is any court of law to determine what is yours when you say there is nothing in this room that belongs to you?

Mr. HINTON. I didn't say that. I refused to answer those questions.

Senator JENNER. Oh, you refused to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Reference has been made to a stipulation that I have made in connection with this particular material, and I would like to say for the record that I have tried to carry out the stipulation which was made by Mr. Sourwine, and counsel for this witness. That stipulation was generally to this effect, that when Mr. Hinton appeared before the committee and testified about this material, that it would be returned to him.

Now, that was made certainly in the context that it was his material. And unless this witness is prepared to say that it is his material, you can recognize that it is almost impossible for the committee to turn it back to you. Is that not right?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, why do you continuously hesitate?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. The material that was seized from me was seized almost 3 years ago. And knowing the record of these committees, and the way they tamper with documents and the way they handle photographs and other things, I certainly am reluctant to——

Senator WELKER. I am not going to sit idly by and let you smear this committee, the Internal Security Committee of the United States Senate. Name me one time that any exhibit has ever been tampered with or altered by the Internal Security Committee of the United States Senate? Now you have asked for it, you answer it.

Mr. HINTON. I remember the time in the McCarthy hearings——

Senator WELKER. Senator McCarthy was not a member of this committee.

Mr. HINTON. I think we all remember that.

Senator WELKER. Now, do not try to use just your paint brush to go over the waterfront? I am not about to admit that he did so.

Now, you have inferred that this committee alters and tampers with exhibits. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Mr. HINTON. I know they illegally seized documents.

Senator WELKER. Oh, yes. Well now, we will take that up. You know the customs officials do not usually do that. I have great respect for the customs people, and you do not, I know that.

Mr. HINTON. Do you mean to maintain that any American citizen can walk up to the customs and ask for somebody else's property?

Senator WELKER. Apparently, that is what you are trying to do, since you do not know whether it is yours or not.

Mr. HINTON. Apparently, that is what you folks did.

Senator WELKER. Now, may I——

Mr. HINTON. My property at the time it was seized was marked and insured, or, at least, it was in bond with the American Express Co. I would have had no trouble identifying my property.

Senator WELKER. We will go into that quite fully. I think we will have a little information for you, Mr. Hinton. You probably need a little enlightenment since it was 3 years ago.

Now, directing your attention to the exhibit on the right-hand corner with the lady and her child and someone else running away from a so-called bombing, have you ever seen that picture before?

(The poster was marked "Exhibit No. 30" and appears on the following page. The lettering in English is a translation by the Library of Congress of the Oriental characters.)

EXHIBIT No. 30



撲滅戰火，拯救和平！

EXTINGUISH THE FLAMES OF WAR
AND WORK FOR PEACE

(Witness looked at poster.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Have you ever made any speeches about germ warfare in Red China?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I want to protest again that I don't think this committee has any right to ask me what speeches I made or may not have made.

Senator WELKER. I asked you the question and want no argument.

Mr. HINTON. I am going to answer that I never did make any such speeches.

Senator WELKER. All right. Would you say you did not bring that exhibit over here in your footlocker?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Directing your attention to the upper right-hand corner of the exhibit, where there is apparently a bomb blast or something, would you mind telling us whether or not you do not see an alleged United States Army airplane flying with wing tanks? Would you mind turning around and looking at it? Certainly that cannot incriminate you.

(Witness looked at the exhibit.)

(Witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. You have publicly stated in a press release that you gave—you are very good at that—

Mr. MORRIS. The press release of this morning, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Yes, sir. You did not submit that to the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Not in the record.

Senator WELKER. Not in our record. But you say, "There are people in this country who are afraid of the truth about China."

Now, may I ask, is that exhibit a truthful exhibit about China?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator WELKER. Mr. Counselor, I do not want you reaching over there and touching him once more.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I will abide by the rules, Senator—I try to.

Senator WELKER. When he needs you, he will ask you. He has been doing very well so far.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think so.

Senator WELKER. With that understanding, proceed.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I'd like to put the whole statement in the record and I'd like to read it.

Senator WELKER. According to the rules of the committee, as you well know, considering all of the time we had the same trouble on your last appearance here, you should submit it to the committee 24 hours before so we could study it and our staff study it.

And I have no fear, I can tell you that, about whatever you might say to the press, because I am going to say this, Mr. Hinton, you blow hot and cold quite a bit. But as you know, the Chair is not going

to permit this into the record until our staff has had a chance to study it.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. What was the question?

Senator WELKER. I asked you, sir, whether or not that exhibit is the truth because, in your press release given this morning, sir, you state among other things, "There are people in this country who are afraid of the truth about China."

Mr. HINTON. What I brought back in my possession was a whole lot of material about China.

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. HINTON. Posters, pictures, newspapers, notes and so on.

Senator WELKER. Answer the question—all right.

Mr. HINTON. And, what I brought back was real material from China, it was not faked material from China. And I had planned to study this material, and to write about it as stated here, what I felt was the true situation in China.

Senator WELKER. All right; now will you answer the question? Is that a truthful portrayal of the situation in China?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. In relation to this exhibit, I decline to answer on the grounds of the first, the fourth and the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Then you realize how inconsistent it would be for you to put that statement into our public record when you cannot answer, specifically, questions about one sentence of it just perchance taken out of that particular release.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Any one given sentence taken out of material which is purported to be mine—any sentence taken out of material which I did bring home, or any one picture, how could that be the truth about China?

What I intended to do and what I hoped to do, is to study this historical material and to make an analysis of it.

Senator WELKER. You have been making some speeches all over America about the truth about China, haven't you?

Mr. HINTON. I have talked many times about my experiences in China and what I believe to be the situation there.

Senator WELKER. No question about that. Counsel may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. There are three other posters there that we have not identified. I wonder if you will identify them for us, Mr. Hinton. The first one on the left, Mr. Arens.

(Mr. Arens pointed to the poster.)

(Witness looked at the poster.)

Mr. MORRIS. It has the Library of Congress translation and reads, "The peoples of Asia and the Pacific Ocean areas should consolidate, strengthen, and expand their peace preservation movement."

And below, "Let us consolidate in order to safeguard peace."

That poster purports to show a group of people of many different nationalities marching together arm in arm and forward.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, the fourth and the fifth amendments, and I'd like to state that—

Senator WELKER. You have answered.

Mr. HINTON. Pictures similar to posters and pictures—I remember seeing some at the library of the Stanford University as being an exhibit, as being some pictures coming from China.

Mr. MORRIS. Look at the one that bears the caption “Children of new China” which purports to be a group of Chinese-children driving two characters who have “U. S.” on their army caps into the sea.

(The poster was marked “Exhibit 31” and appears below.)

EXHIBIT No. 31

CHILDREN OF NEW CHINA

新中國的兒童



Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, the fourth and the fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Look at the next picture, under the caption “Welcome our Soviet Friends.” Will you identify that as a poster that you brought into the United States in your footlocker?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, the fourth and the fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may all of these photographs go into the record at this time, all that we have discussed at this time?

Senator WELKER. They will be so admitted and made a part of the record.

(The additional posters were marked “Exhibits 32 and 33” and appear on the following pages.)

EXHIBIT No. 32

OPPOSE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTIC AGGRESSION; SIGN A PLEDGE OF PATRIOTISM.

- OPPOSE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM;
BELITTLE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM;
DESPISE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.
- RESIST AMERICA; AID KOREA; PROTECT THE HOME
AND DEFEND THE NATION.
SUPPORT OUR PLEDGE OF PATRIOTISM;
OBSERVE OUR PLEDGE OF PATRIOTISM.
- SAFEGUARD PERMANENT WORLD PEACE.
- SIGNS ON THE TREE AND THE TABLE:
"SIGN HERE"
- CONSOLIDATE ALL PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES.

約公國愛訂簽 略侵帝美對反



EXHIBIT No. 33

WELCOME OUR SOVIET FRIENDS.

- WELCOME SOVIET RUSSIA.
- PRESENTED TO OUR SOVIET FRIENDS.
- PRESENTED BY LIU CHIN-JUI OF PA KOU VILLAGE

歡迎蘇聯朋友



Mr. MORRIS. You worked for UNRRA, did you not, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. As we said at the last hearing.

Mr. MORRIS. Well now, Mr. Hinton, without going into this question of whether we said anything about it the last time, you never testified before about these particular pictures, have you? You have never been called to testify at any time about these, have you?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I thought the question had to do with whether I went out to China with UNRRA.

Mr. MORRIS. I realize that; I am trying to put it in perspective for you to save time.

Have you ever testified at any time about the pictures that we have been discussing here today?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. No, I didn't.

Mr. MORRIS. I am about to ask you a series of questions about some papers which Mr. McManus will testify have been taken from your footlocker.

Senator WELKER. Just a moment, prior to that. You have written to your sisters quite often, haven't you?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. In regard to my sister, Joan, I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. All right.

Mr. HINTON. On the grounds previously stated.

Senator WELKER. Have you written to your wife? Like most husbands, I assume that you have.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I have told you already that I am not married.

Senator WELKER. Well, incidentally, that brings up a question. I do not desire to prolong this.

Where is your wife now: is she still in Peking?

Mr. HINTON. I have told you that I am not married.

Mr. MORRIS. You were married.

Senator WELKER. I asked you where your wife is.

Mr. HINTON. You mean my former wife?

Senator WELKER. Your former wife, yes.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I answered that question the last hearing. She is in Peking, as far as I know.

Senator WELKER. Your baby, or child, is there with her?

Mr. HINTON. My daughter is also there.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, I would like to ask you a series of questions based on the material that Mr. McManus will identify as having been taken from your footlocker. These are the papers that were made available to you yesterday at a time when I said that you could have an opportunity to look them over, so that you would know the general subject matter of this inquiry today.

Did you in connection with these particular documents, did you work for UNRRA, which is the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Association?

Mr. HINTON. I am sorry, I did not get the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you work for UNRRA?

Mr. HINTON. As stated in the other hearing—

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton—

Mr. HINTON. I will say it again.

Mr. MORRIS. I am asking you now. Let us not refer to that—I am going to ask you these questions in context with papers you have never testified about before.

Mr. HINTON. I want to make clear that we went over this ground before and I did go out to China as a member of a group which was part of UNRRA, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Did you have the job of supplying Communist China in UNRRA?

Mr. HINTON. My job in UNRRA was to teach the Chinese how to use and operate and repair tractors and farm machinery.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you identify this first document? Will you show the original to the witness, please, exhibit 34.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, I am just going to ask you—mind you, these were available to you yesterday for your scrutiny—I am going to ask you about the sentence that appears in here:

There is a move on here—

this is dated Peiping, May 26.

There is a move on here to get me into a job of supplying Communist areas. If I can get it, I will take it.

I wanted to ask you whether you had the job of supplying Communist areas, if you did get it, and if you did take it.

(Witness consulted with his counsel.)

(Exhibit 34 is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 34

PEIPING, May 26.

DEAREST BERTHEE: I got what looked like a nice letter from you the other day only to find that it was a note from Donnie Watt. What a disappointment. Have you decided not to write at all, or what? I wonder if you ever got my letter from Manchuria on China's destiny, Emperor McConkey, etc. Would like to know what kind of jobs you are thinking about and what you are thinking of doing this summer.

I am still in Peiping waiting for the tractors which I am supposed to take back to Suiyuan. Things are rather in a ferment here with the students staging mass demonstrations against the continuation of the war. I am trying to write a description of this which would be short enough for Una's paper but it is difficult because so much goes on that wants describing. I suppose it will be too late for this year's paper anyway. Was reading over all the copies of letters to you and others I have kept with me here and have decided that I can write fairly well at times. I wish I would get into a job where writing was my business. I wish, I wish. But it doesn't look as if I will for a time yet. There is a move on here to get me into the job of supplying Communist areas. If I can get it, I will take it. The fellow that was doing it has just left for the States with his wife as she is going to have a baby soon. There is no one to take his place and so they are thinking of me. If it goes through, which is doubtful, I would be in charge of special group 8 with headquarters in Tientsin, and would be responsible for all the convoys by barge, truck, etc. going into southern Hopei. Also I would be on salary and doing something that I have no qualms about.

The situation here is reaching a climax, but climaxes when you are living through them have a way of stalling along. It will be clear in 6 months' time that this was the crucial point in China's history but as we pass through it events seem to move extremely slowly. One finds it difficult to wait from one morning to the next for the newspaper and the events one feels sure must happen, take weeks sometimes, to materialize. For instance, we know that a major peace move on the part of the government is in the air, yet so far it has only been talk. Various important people inside and out of the Kuomintang have been urging a real settlement, the students are vigorously demanding it, and even certain elements among the military, but the war goes on at a most violent tempo. Initiative seems to be with the Communists now. They are attacking on almost every front and making headway everywhere. The offensive they were predicting last fall (you remember Sid wrote us about it) is finally underway and it has the government jittery. They are faced with utter defeat and hence think of a compromise that will save something for them. Opinion is that it is perhaps too late for compromise. A coalition government might have been possible a year ago, but not now. This government may well be wiped out. The reactionaries with their usual greed wanted everything. Now they may end up with nothing. America is chiefly responsible. We are really the ones guilty of wanting the whole pie. Now we shall have none of it, I fear, and well we deserve that fate. Few nations have ever been rewarded for being stupid.

Write when you have time.

Love,

BILLY.

(On the reverse side of the page, without date or salutation, the following was typewritten:)

Went climbing Sunday in the western hills. Went along with Mr. Lund and wife and another couple. None of these people seemed to feel like climbing, so after we had eaten our lunch at a temple tucked away in the trees near the base of the hills I took off by myself. Like the mountains around Chungking, these hills look bigger and farther away than they really are. If you really set out to travel you can go over 4 or 5 peaks in a few hours. It is such fun to be on

the roof of the world, looking down on the hot plain from one peak after the other and feel the strong wind in your face. Then to plunge down through the rocks and thorns into a narrow ravine and up again onto another height, and look down this time to the west into the narrow valley of the Sangkan River. The hills all around are steep and barren, but everywhere they have been cultivated. The remains of old terraces and old plots once spaded over scar the heights. Farther down are fields still under cultivation, fields so steep that one can stand erect on them and reach out an arm and touch the slope. They cultivate them until they are washed out, it takes no more than 3 years for this, and then move on to another slope. In the bottom of the narrow valleys the terraces become more numerous and they are edged with fruit and nut trees now leaved and green. Here and there the green wheat is pushing brightly up. The wheat and the leaves are the only green thing, for the rest the mountains are the yellowed brown of dried grass and the red brown of the soil bared for crops or already abandoned. Of the same red brown color are the houses of the farms that are clustered in the valleys wherever water is found. The hills are so steep that you look almost directly down on these little settlements and can see children playing, dogs lying in the sun and cattle wandering about. Here and there an isolated farmer has built his house on a higher ridge, or a hollow on the upper slopes. Some of these are still lived in, but many are abandoned now. Everything is so quiet up there. One could sit for hours and look and dream. Now and then a bee comes humming and buzzing to look you over, sniff at your knees, peer into your ears, and [words cut out], but there are no other sounds except for the occasional wail of a locomotive from the distant plain. One could sit for hours but one does not because on to the north and west are higher peaks and steeper slopes and something to see beyond. These northern ridges are marred with blockhouses manned with soldiers, for there is the Communist line. Not more than a few air miles farther on the hills are held by the guerillas and these guards perched high on the ridges are ever on the alert for signs of movement from the north and west. Strangers from the city can wander between them at will and everything appears so quiet and peaceful, yet there they stand to remind you of the bloody war. You have to be reminded because the beauty up there makes you forget. It is hard to believe, looking out on the Central Hopei Plain over that vast expanse of brown and green lined here and there with trees and shimmering in the noon sun, that men are killing each other unseen. That armies are gathered there and battles, bitter and ruthless, are fought back and forth across the level expanse. It is no wonder wealthy people fail to understand what is happening to their world. For years they have come picnicking here and looked out across the rich plain, seen the results of the labor of the peaceful peasants and found it good. The sun shines, the leaves unfold, the shoots spring forth from the ground and in the fields the picturesque men and women in wide brimmed straw hats plant the rice, hoe the beans and scratch their uneven furrows in the land. Everything is as it should be. If only these foreign agitators with their totalitarian ideas would leave the people alone life could continue on its lazy well-fed course.

Dear Berthee, I wish you could come with me for a walk on these hills. How are you anyway?

Love,

BILLY.

Mr. HINTON. I think this kind of question invades the area of personal relations between husband and wife, of letters written between husband and wife. And I think it is very unseemly to bring up letters of this kind.

Senator WELKER. All right, I am ordering and directing you to answer.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify that as a letter that you wrote?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to identify the letter, or answer any questions about it, on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments, and also on the grounds it violates the confidence between husband and wife.

Senator WELKER. I have already ordered him to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you identify that document? Will you return it, Mr. Arens?

Mr. McMANUS. This is one of the documents which I found in Mr. Hinton's footlocker.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the signature on it?

Mr. McMANUS. This is a carbon. It says "Love, Billy."

Mr. MORRIS. It is addressed to whom?

Mr. McMANUS. "Dearest Berthee."

Mr. MORRIS. Is "Berthee" the name of your former wife?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Her name is Bertha.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you use "Berthee" as a form of salutation?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You will notice that there is a section of that cut out. Mr. McManus, was that cut out when the footlocker was first opened?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes. A number of these carbons were mutilated in this way. Sometimes the salutation was taken out, and sometimes there were words—well, I can't say whether they were words or not, but there were mutilations of this character on a number of the documents when I opened the footlocker and examined all of it.

Mr. MORRIS. In that connection, did you have the job for UNRRA of supplying Communist China?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I did not have any such job.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you after your term of duty was up with UNRRA, did you move on from there to teach in Chinese Communist areas, the agrarian reform program?

Mr. HINTON. I was sent to the southern Hopei border region to teach students how to repair tractors.

Mr. MORRIS. You were sent by whom?

Mr. HINTON. By UNRRA—by my superiors in UNRRA.

Mr. MORRIS. The question I asked you was, after you had left UNRRA did you form a school, a training school, whereby you and others conducted an agrarian reform school for the Red Chinese Government?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. No; I conducted no such school.

Mr. MORRIS. I show you a document, Mr. Hinton—will you read it, please. I suggest we adjourn until we get our exhibits in order.

Senator WELKER. We will not adjourn. May I have exhibit 16 (later received for the record as exhibit No. 35)?

Certainly, that is here.

Mr. Hinton, while in Red China, after leaving UNRRA, did you organize a school?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Could the Chair repeat that question?

Senator WELKER. I did not hear your answer.

Mr. HINTON. I wanted you to repeat the question.

Senator WELKER. Repeat it, please.

(The question was read.)

Mr. HINTON. No; I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you teach at a school?

Mr. HINTON. As we went through in the other hearing, I did teach how to operate and use tractors after the end of UNRRA.

Senator WELKER. Now, handing you an original which was taken from your footlocker, can you identify any of your students there? (Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator WELKER. An original photograph.

Mr. HINTON. I see here some words in Arabic, Nos. 1947, 10, which would indicate that this picture was taken during a period when I was still working on the UNRRA project.

Senator WELKER. Well now, I ask you, do you recognize any people in this exhibit who attended your school?

Mr. HINTON. I have already answered that I did not have a school.

Senator WELKER. I see. Well, you taught there.

Mr. HINTON. My answer was that during my period of working with UNRRA, I did teach the operation and use of tractors at a school.

Senator WELKER. Well now, what sort of uniform do these students wear if you know?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I am not answering a question about this particular photograph. I will say that during my stay in China, in what they called there the liberated areas, that the ordinary clothing was padded jacket and pants, that was worn by almost everyone, and continues to be worn so to this day.

Senator WELKER. Especially worn by the Chinese Communist soldiers?

Mr. HINTON. The clothing that I am referring to is the clothing worn by students, many peasants, many shopkeepers, many Government employees, and so on.

Senator WELKER. How about Chinese Communist soldiers?

Mr. HINTON. The clothing worn by Chinese Communist soldiers is very much the same. They wear padded cotton jackets and padded cotton pants. On their hats they have the symbol of what they call the Peoples Liberation Army. There is always that symbol on their hats.

Senator WELKER. Is that symbol on these hats?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Looking at this particular photograph I see no symbols at all on the hats.

Senator WELKER. Now, you are quite familiar with your own picture; aren't you?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator WELKER. Pointing to a gentleman that I think is the witness, Mr. William Hinton, I will ask you if it isn't a fact that you got your picture taken with these people in Red China?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer this question on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Will you say the gentleman I am pointing to in the middle of the second row of the photograph, the exhibit I am about to introduce in evidence, is not that of William Hinton?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I think this is a picture of myself; yes.

Senator WELKER. This will be in evidence marked an exhibit.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that offered in evidence?

Senator WELKER. I have offered it. It will be admitted.

(The photograph to which the above testimony alludes appears as exhibit No. 28 at p. 211.)

Mr. MORRIS. At this school, Mr. Hinton, which the last photograph introduced into the record by Senator Welker purports to depict, did you engage in any political training at all?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I don't understand what you are asking in that question. What do you mean by "political training"?

Did you mean organization political training?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you engage in any political teaching whatever?

Mr. HINTON. Political teaching?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. HINTON. No, I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not.

Did you receive from the United States material that you considered part of the subject matter of your lectures in this particular class?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. For my teaching purposes I had with me and brought with me books on agriculture and on farm machinery. And that is what I used in my work.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, you have already told me that you wrote your sisters Joan and Jean like any brother would. I want to read just a few—

Mr. HINTON. Just a minute. I want to correct that. I said I wrote my sister Jean, as any brother would.

Senator WELKER. We will let the evidence stand for itself, when I read the exhibit, or portions of it because time is running out. You will be here with us again tomorrow, possibly the day following.

Directing your attention to the original, that was taken out of your footlocker, will you examine it carefully? Then I want to ask you a couple of questions about it.

Mr. HINTON. I hope I will have time to read this letter, this writing here. I was not given a chance to finish reading the other one.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, you were given an opportunity to read this particular document yesterday.

Mr. HINTON. From the beginning I have stated, ever since this material was illegally taken from me, I have refused to cooperate with the committee in looking over illegally seized material. When it is given back to me that is something else.

(Witness reads a document marked "Exhibit 16" for identification.)

Senator WELKER. I think you have had time enough to read it.

Mr. Hinton, pursuing counsel's interrogation of you, we will ask you the question whether or not you received any material from our country to assist you?

Now, directing your attention to the exhibit, at the bottom of the page, I want to read this to you and ask of you if you did or did not write this:

We received a great wad of newspapers some days ago covering the period from the middle of August. The old world is not doing so well, I would say. Crisis in Britain, war in Indonesia, massacres in India, harsh words with Russia, Greek people dying of a strange disease called lead in the head, Jews being hauled across the world like cattle, Spanish Americans hunting each other

through the Chaco, Peron huddling up to Washington and bringing home guns, prices rising, while that great beast America looks down upon the world and licks its lips, and tries to disregard a growing stomach ache in its vitals.

Did you or did you not write that letter to your sisters Jean and Joan?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. Why don't you finish reading the rest of the paragraph?

Senator WELKER. I will do the interrogating here. I am tired of you telling me how to interrogate. I perhaps need it, but I am not going to take any suggestions from you.

Now, did you or did you not write that

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Then directing your attention to the same exhibit, directed to your sisters "Dear Joan and Jean," signed "Love to all, Billy," the upper portion, the first paragraph, I am quoting:

So far I have seen no evidence of the anti-American feeling that is supposed to be rampant here. This worries me a little since it indicates the people have not yet learned who their enemies are. The soldiers are a little more conscious of the facts of life and always look astounded when you tell them you are American.

Did you or did you not write that letter to your sisters Jean and Joan?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments. As to the question of American policy toward China at that time—

Senator WELKER. I think you have answered that question. Now you are not going to hide behind—just a moment—

Mr. HINTON. The views which I had about I will be glad to discuss that with you, the committee.

Senator WELKER. Any time you want to answer a question and then explain it, fine, but you are not going to hide behind the fifth amendment, take out part, and then make a speech on something that might be of benefit to you.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator WELKER. This letter will be admitted in evidence and marked.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 35" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 35

DEAR JOAN AND JEAN: I got a letter the other day from each of you so I am writing one in return and sending it in two copies. Isn't that efficient? Right now I am in a little village near the Grand Canal in Hopei, south of Tientsin. I am recovering from an attack of amoebic dysentery and the treatment that one has to undergo on account of it. The disease is not serious if you catch it in time and the treatment is nothing but 1 injection a day for 10 days plus a few pills, so I have actually been having a long rest. Everything is very quiet here. That is always what amazes me most down here not so far from the front. There is absolutely no sign of warfare, soldiers are never seen and there is never any commotion. In the fields the farmers work at their little plots while their kids play in the dirt, climb trees, and pick fruit, and their womenfolk rake up dead grass and roots for cooking the evening meal. Of course not being able to talk very much cuts me off from the people and I am not aware of what is going on in their heads as they plow the furrows or cut the ripe grain with

their little knifelike sickles. I made friends with one family the other day and they taught me how to cut and tie up the shocks and stack them together. This caused them no end of amusement. For a while I was at a mission hospital in Tang Hsien. The hospital is right next to the canal and the water was dangerously high. The liberated area's government had organized an energetic dyke-repair program and had just saved the whole area from a drastic flood. Three feet had been added to the top of the dyke in all danger areas and a constant watch was kept up and down the canal for miles. I went wandering along the banks and talked here and there to farmers or workmen strengthening the weaker places. Everybody was in such a good humor (the water had dropped that day about 3 inches) and so friendly. Everywhere they stopped me and asked me to sit down and chat. So far I have seen no evidence the anti-American feeling that is supposed to be rampant here. This worries me a little since it indicates the people have not yet learned who their enemies are. The soldiers are a little more conscious of the facts of life and always look astounded when you tell them you are American. (There are a few soldiers around guarding bridges and an occasional group traveling on the main road by foot). But they still remain friendly to us as individuals and are very curious about everything we do. I spent many happy, completely lazy afternoons walking up and down this way and relaxed more than I have for a long time. Great white clouds pile up in the west and sail across the blue sun-filled sky. A light breeze rattles the leaves of the willows along the water. The dyke workers shout to one another. A band of small brown children splash in the village pond while the white ducks poke for something edible under the floating green mat that covers the water. Then in the distance one suddenly hears the boom of guns. There is a small battle being fought not 20 miles away. What is that, I say. Those are the guns firing at Hsingchi, say the farmers. It sounds close, I say. They are not far, say the farmers. Then there is a rattle in the sky, faint at first and then louder and louder and out of the north six fighter planes come sweeping high over our heads. They skim on southward and are lost again to sight. It is several hours before the return and when they do there are only four. Have two been shot down or did they go on to land beyond the border region in southern Shantung? One gets used to the guns booming after a time. They sound so faint and far away, it is as if something were going on behind the scenes which has no relation to this time and place. And the planes too, they are in another dimension over our heads and off to some far place where bigger game is found. They operate in a world of their own—until the day comes when they suddenly turn to swoop down on me. But that day has not yet come. They are looking for something in the far distance. It is very strange being here in the middle of the battle of the worlds. This is no ringside seat, this is the very center of the arena and yet like the center of the cyclone all is calm.

The land reform has been completed here more than a year. Every family has land according to the number of mouths to feed. It averages out at about two mou apiece. Things were done in a hurry at the start, and now is the time for reexamination. The village committees are checking up again to see that everything is fairly held. Many landlords have run away, leaving great buildings behind them, buildings where court after court behind massive walls provided a quiet, laborless cultured life to those held who title to property. In the courts pomegranate trees were planted, and now the pomegranates are ripening to a beautiful red.

Yesterday a new recruit went off to war. The whole village turned out to greet the man with drums and cymbals and songs. First, a big drum was sounded, then came men with cymbals to stand around the drum. Then came the children singing border region songs, and the people came from their houses and lined the muddy road. For more than an hour the beating and clashing and singing continued without pause. Then the volunteer arrived on a black horse. He wore a great red paper flower on his chest and smiled at all these people whom he had known so long. He was embarrassed but pleased with all the fuss. With him in the lead, the whole group started off. From our village they went to the next, where another welcome was being prepared, but before they could get there a heavy rain began to fall, and the drummers and the schoolchildren ran for cover. I guess the soldier continued on in the rain. I ended up under a roof with all the children, and we entertained each other with songs until the sky cleared again.

So, life passes here with me very quietly. Soon I shall go back to the tractors and work hard again. But perhaps the work won't be so hard now. They have

evidently gotten along fine while I have been away, and so perhaps there won't be so much to do now. I'll have to concentrate on studying Chinese so that I can enter into life more instead of looking in on it from the outside.

We received a great wad of newspapers some days ago covering the period from the middle of August. The old world is not doing so well, I would say. Crisis in Britain, war in Indonesia, massacres in India, harsh words with Russia, Greek people dying of a strange disease called lead in the head, Jews being hauled across the world like cattle, Spanish-Americans hunting each other through the Chaco, Peron huddling up to Washington and bringing home guns, prices rising, while that great beast, America, looks down upon the world and licks its lips and tries to disregard a growing stomach ache in its vitals. Was there ever so much naked ugliness abroad? We are getting back to the days of Munich and worse. One could weep for America were one not so angry.

Haven't caught up with Sid yet, sorry to say, but intend finding him sooner or later. That will be the day. That will be the day.

Love to everyone,

BILLY.

Mr. HINTON. Are you going to have the whole letter in the record?

Senator WELKER. Certainly, I thought I made that clear.

Apparently, if you cannot understand me—maybe I didn't make myself clear, but the whole letter will go in the record, Mr. Hinton. It would be terrible not to have it. You cannot put in one piece and keep out another.

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I would like to say this, that ordinarily it is only fair practice when introducing letters or materials that the whole series of whatever was written should be put in, which would give an idea of what was meant, and so on.

Senator WELKER. Well——

Mr. HINTON. I remember at the McCarthy hearings where no one——

Senator WELKER. Will you stop that business?

Mr. HINTON. Telephone conversation was accepted because of the objection of not all of them being——

Senator WELKER. Here is the idea. I am trying to be fair with you. I told you I was going to read you a couple of passages and the whole thing would be in the record. How could you be hurt there?

You are sitting there now trying to weasel out of some pretty rough cross-examination. And I think that as far as today is concerned, we have had enough. We will have you again tomorrow and possibly the day following. And the meeting is now adjourned.

Mr. HINTON. I am not trying to weasel out of any——

Senator WELKER. Well——

Mr. HINTON. Any questions here. I am answering all proper questions.

Senator WELKER. Yes, you are.

Mr. HINTON. I am willing to discuss with you my views about American foreign policy during those years.

Senator WELKER. I do not know what you would do if you did not have that fifth amendment, sir. That is an observation that probably is not fair to you.

Mr. HINTON. And I think that, in any evidence, the whole series of correspondence is usually put in evidence.

Senator WELKER. I believe I know, not quite as much about the law as you do, but I hope to. I may know more about tractors than you do, but I grant you that we cannot separate it, but I wanted to get

along and interrogate you with respect to certain statements you made.

And I will do that again tomorrow, sir. But all of the evidence bearing on your testimony and obtained from your footlocker, will go into the record in full.

Now we will adjourn until 10:30 tomorrow morning. And you are not released from the subpoena.

Mr. HINTON. I would agree to produce the stuff but I want what was seized from me back.

Senator WELKER. You are not going to get it back now, so you just might as well forget that little dialog. We have this here for the purpose of finding out if something has not been wrong, with all of this mass of material, which in the opinion of the acting chairman, is designed to destroy the United States of America, and you are here rampaging all over this country, giving 300 speeches—we intend to go to the bottom of this, and when we find out something that we think is the basis of sound legislation, we will certainly use it.

One concluding question: You have been out of work for 3 or 4 weeks. Have you tried to get work lately?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. What has that got to do with the part of this committee?

Senator WELKER. It has a lot to do. Will you answer the question?

(Witness consults with his counsel.)

Senator WELKER. You brought the matter up yourself.

Mr. HINTON. I know you have a history of trying to prevent any people that you don't like from getting work or holding work which they already have and I can see that this is what you are aiming at here.

Senator WELKER. I know that is just the dialog I have heard so many times from people just like you. But I would be the happiest man in the world if you could come back to America in the way I think you should and come up here and work for us, rather than working for the things that you have been doing.

Mr. HINTON. I would be glad to work for you if you would investigate what is going on in Mississippi today.

Senator WELKER. Oh, yes. There you go again.

Mr. MORRIS. Before adjourning, Mr. Chairman, may I give a translation which Mr. McManus will identify for us of the second photograph that we discussed today, that is, the one that purports to show the two Powells looking at an exhibit there. (Exhibit No. 26-A, p. 203.)

Mr. McManus, will you read that translation and tell us who made it?

Mr. McMANUS. The second photograph on the board toward which Mr. Arens is pointing, is a photograph of John and Sylvia Powell. That is, Mrs. John Powell. And we obtained a translation from the Library of Congress, which is as follows, the translation of what they are reading, what they both are looking at, "Written answers by a captured member of U. S. Air Force, whose name is rendered in Chinese as K'uei-en, to questions asked jointly by Korean and Chinese correspondents."

Senator WELKER. Are there any further questions?

Thank you, Mr. Hinton, and you, Mr. Friedman, for appearing and we will see you at 10:30 tomorrow morning in this room.

Just a moment—just a moment. They have told me it is in room 457. That will be the room.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 1:15 p. m., the committee adjourned to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., Wednesday, March 7, 1956, in room 457.)

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